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ABHANDLUNGEN FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES

MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER DEUTSCHEN FORSCHUNGSGEMEINSCHAFT
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT
XXIII, 7

EGYPT AND ARAGON

EMBASSIES AND DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN 1300 AND 1330 A.D.

BY AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA

DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT



KOMMISSIONSVERLAG F. A. BROCKHAUS
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Introduction

The relations between Egypt and Aragon in the first half of the fourteenth century form the basis of an important chapter, not only in the annals of both these countries, but also in the history of the crusade and of commerce in the Levant during the Later Middle Ages. Although still imperfect, our knowledge of the Western sources for this period compares most favourably with the meagreness or even lack of substantial material on the Oriental side. Several scholars, notably Company, Finke and Golubovich, have brought to light a series of letters from Jaime II to al-Malik al-Nāṣir bearing on matters of moment in the years here under consideration; and Golubovich has been able to re-construct from them the story of a number of embassies exchanged between the courts of Barcelona and Cairo. The striking feature of Golubovich's interesting review of these diplomatic activities is, however, the absence of any concrete reference to the existence of Mamlūk letters to Aragon; and so far as we can judge, historians in general appear to have either overlooked them or assumed that they were missing, though not utterly unknown. Hence this field has been left unexplored and a gap has remained to be filled. It is here that my modest contribution lies; and I hope that the following pages will provide the settlement of a problem hitherto imperfectly surveyed.

In the course of the year 1932 I visited, among numerous manuscript depositories, the *Archivio de la Corona de Aragon* (Barcelona) in quest of the unpublished material for my work on *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*¹. Free access to the Arabic manuscripts was given to me, and after labour-

1) Published by Messrs Methuen & Co., London, in May 1938.

ing through unwieldy masses of correspondence the provenance of which was the Moorish states of Spain and North Africa, I was introduced to a number of large unidentified *Rolls*. On closer examination, these were revealed to be the missing Egyptian replies to the court of Aragon. Written in large beautiful 'tuluṭ' Mamlūk hand, some of these *Rolls* extended to the unusually great length of thirty metres or thereabouts. Original documents of this type, it will undoubtedly be realised, are extremely scarce in libraries and archives, both European and Egyptian. Unfortunately at the time of my visit to Spain, I had set myself above all things to the sole task, not of editing, but of collecting the material relevant to my special study on the later crusade. The overwhelming nature of the sources awaiting further examination outside Spain, the pressure of time, and the limitation of means—all these were deciding factors which forced me to narrow my pursuit in Barcelona down to the reading of the texts at my disposal and to transcribing the essential parts of this correspondence. On two or three occasions, however, I copied letters *in extenso* as specimens of the rest. The editing of the whole, I then reckoned, would preferably be postponed for another visit with this object alone in view; but the great upheaval of the Spanish Civil War has banished all hope of carrying out this plan at least for some time yet to come, and the fate of these and other documents is now rendered unknown and uncertain. All these circumstances may help to explain the shortcomings of this essay of which I am fully aware. I am, for instance, conscious that the incompleteness of edited texts is usually, and in most cases legitimately, regarded as an unpardonable distortion. On the other hand, it would be unjust to exaggerate this aspect in connection with the present correspondence. Those who will read the full Arabic text furnished under the Sixth Embassy will notice at once how hopeless and how exasperating some of its passages can be in their redundancy and meaninglessness. Arabic style in Egypt during this period was on the whole of an inferior type, and the

scribes entrusted with the redaction of official documents were often men of no literary merit. From the historical point of view, the sections here presented together with an accurate and comprehensive analysis of the contents of each letter will, in my opinion, serve fully to illustrate the objects of this correspondence.

I have previously dealt with the subject of this study on two occasions. In the first place, I have made an analysis of both the Aragonese and Egyptian letters in the third appendix to my work on *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*¹). In the second place, I have read a paper on the same at the annual meeting of the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* in Göttingen this year²), and the reception generously accorded to my findings by German colleagues together with the demand for this material has left me no room for hesitation in publishing it in the form in which it now appears.

I have not been satisfied with the mere editing of the parts in my possession. This, I am convinced, would necessarily limit their usefulness to scholars who are Orientalists and Mediaevalists at one and the same time. In addition to the Arabic texts and English translations, I have analysed and quoted the most relevant passages of the Aragonese letters as a necessary introduction to the Egyptian replies. Each set of two letters is treated under the wider title of an embassy, and the genesis and outcome of each embassy have been re-constructed as far as could be gathered from the extant sources, thus making it a complete historical unit.

The background of this correspondence is the reign of Jaime II in Aragon and the second and third reigns of al-Malik al-Nāṣir in Egypt³). It would be idle here to attempt a full review of the events of Aragonese and Mamlūk history during the whole of that period. Nevertheless a few general

1) Pages 510–16.

2) Delivered on January 4th, 1938.

3) See dates below.

remarks might help towards a better understanding of the atmosphere in which these letters came to being. In the first place, we must remember that these diplomatic exchanges occurred in the decades immediately following the complete discomfiture of the Latins in the Holy Land and the downfall of the remaining outposts of the Kingdom of Jerusalem on the Asiatic mainland including the fortified city of 'Akka in 1291. This inaugurated a new era in the history of the crusade which was characterised by intense propaganda for the boycott of Egyptian trade and elaborate plans for a strict blockade of the coasts of the Mamlūk Empire as a means towards the annihilation of the Sultan's power. I have examined in detail this new and important phase in my history of the later crusade, and those who deem it worthy of their notice may consult my special study on this subject¹). It would be sufficient here to draw attention to the fact that Pope Nicholas IV and his successors issued bull after bull forbidding trade and other intercourse with the Saracens on pain of excommunication. Jaime II, who treasured the interests of his country and realised the possibilities of reaping more benefit through diplomacy than by waging futile wars on Egypt, did not shrink from breaking the rules laid down by the Holy Pontiff and the propagandists of the age. Like Emperor Frederick II, he achieved much in this sphere by coming to an understanding with the Sultan; and like him, he incurred the wrath of the papacy and suffered the penalty of excommunication. When this was finally lifted from him by Pope Boniface VIII on the condition that he should take the Cross and save the Holy Land by armed force, Jaime did nothing in the end to fulfil his obligations²). Indeed he adopted an opposite course by peacefully approaching Egypt and courting favour with the Sultan irrespective of the consequences. It was largely this policy and that of the Italian Republics of Venice and Genoa that led to the

1) *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, Part II.

2) Heyd, *Hist. du commerce*, II, 30 et seq.

collapse of the maritime blockade of Egypt and Syria. Our correspondence, it is hoped, will serve as an illustration to this conclusion. In the second place, the Aragonese expansion in the Levant, partly by way of trade and partly through the adventures of the Grand Catalan Company in Byzantium and Greece, was a notable feature of this age. We need hardly enlarge upon this fascinating chapter in Near Eastern history, since it has been fully and admirably treated by various scholars¹). The main point at issue is that the increasing influence and interest of the Catalans in the Levant must have brought Aragon into closer contact with Egypt as a natural corollary. In the third place, the character of al-Malik al-Nāṣir²) himself made these *rapprochements* with Aragon possible in spite of the traditional hostility of Egypt towards the Latins since the time of the early crusades. Small, lame and with a deformed eye, the Sultan was hardly a warlike figure, unlike most of the Mamlūk class to which he belonged. Yet he had one of the most domineering personalities of his time. Enlightened, shrewd and indefatigable, he was also a great diplomat and loved the ways of peace which did not impair his prestige or mar his interests. A man of this kind could not refuse friendly overtures whatever their source might have been, more especially if they brought prosperity to his country. In reality, al-Nāṣir deliberately encouraged the advent of embassies, both Eastern and Western, Muhammadan and Christian; and the court of Egypt during his reign became a centre of diplomatic exchanges with princes whose trade passed through the marts of Cairo and Alexandria, Damietta and

1) Nicolau d'Olwer, *Expansio de Catalunya en la Mediterrànea Oriental*; Schlumberger, *Expédition des «Almugavares» ou Routiers Catalans en Orient*; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, 211 et seq., 235 et seq. The original sources are given at length in these works.

2) Weil, *Abbasidenchalifat*, I, 410-11; Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, 316-17. Weil's work contains the fullest biography of al-Nāṣir; see vol. I, 191-8 (first reign), 222-79 (second reign), 297-412 (third reign).

Damascus, as well as the rest of the great emporia of the Mamlūk Empire¹). At least his third reign was phenomenal in the story of mediæval Egypt, and the country enjoyed a period of almost incredible affluence under his rule. In acceding to the modest requests submitted to him by Jaime II, al-Nāṣir undoubtedly secured a good customer for the Egyptian markets and succeeded in creating an irreparable breach in the blockade devised by the Popes and their advisers to choke his commerce and intercept the importation of war material and new stock of young mamlūks to reinforce his ranks.

The Aragonese letters known to exist are six in number. All of them owe their origin to Jaime II, and all bear al-Nāṣir's address during his second and third reigns in the years 1303, 1305, 1314, 1318, 1322 and 1327 respectively²). The Arabic letters are, on the other hand, eight and must of necessity therefore lead to an increase in the hitherto accepted view of six embassies by two—namely, the first and the last. This correspondence consists of the following manuscripts:—

1. "Carta árabe en papel." Number worn out. Dated 15 Raḡab 699 (6th April 1300).
2. "Carta árabe en papel." Number worn out. Dated 13 Šawwāl 703 (19th May 1304).
3. "Carta árabe en papel." Number worn out. Dated 1 Ša'bān 705 (16th February 1306).
4. "Documentos árabes del Archivo de la Corona de Aragon; 4.^a Sección, Cartas Orientales, Caja 4, doc. 19." One of four rolls without specific numbers. Dated "first ten" days of Ša'bān 705 (16th–26th February 1306).

1) See for instance Nuwairī (*Nihāyat al-Arab*, Vat. MS. 741) who records in the first few folios the exchange of embassies with the Tatars and the advent of envoys to Cairo from al-Magrib, Nubia, Yemen, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire.

2) For details of place of deposit and publication of these letters, see below footnotes to the various embassies.

5. "Carta árabe en papel." Number worn out. Dated "Day of Sacrifice", i.e., 10 Dulhiḡḡa 714 (17th March 1315).
6. Same section as no. 4—"Caja 5, Carta árabe en papel, no. 492." Dated 15 Šafar 723 (23rd February 1323).
7. Same section as nos. 4 and 6—"Caja 4", without specific number of document. Dated 15 Ġumādā I 728 (29th March 1328).
8. Same section as nos. 4, 6 and 7—"Caja 5, Carta árabe en papel, no. 159." Dated 1 Ġumādā I 730 (20th February 1330).

In conclusion, I have tried to render the Arabic texts into English as literally as possible without impairing the general sense underlying each statement. Diplomatic style has its own peculiarities, and this is all the more so in the case of Arabic documents which abound in flowery and redundant phrases forced into the texts for the sake of rhythm and artificial beauty in accordance with the modes and conventions of writing during our period. As it has been my firm conviction, however, that the translation should reflect the original text in its fullest details even at the risk of provoking criticism among readers who are not Arabists, I have not hesitated in following the Arabic terms without any alteration in the original form and without any attempt at improvement. The difficulties encountered in the presentation list under the Third Embassy are of a different nature. The translation and definition of articles for which we possess hardly any concrete guide has been no easy task. In cases of doubt, I have inserted the various possibilities available from the sources in the footnotes, and it is hoped that my decisions will not be found unacceptable.

Apart from the chief MSS. in the above list, the following MSS. have been used:—

Alger MS. Copy of Letter from the Muslims of Spain to Bayezid II. Alger MS. no. 1620 (cf. Fagnan, Catalogue etc., 450).

- al-Maqrīzī, Taqī-al-Dīn etc.; (ob. 1442): *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*. Vol. I Cambridge MS., Qq. 276. (Other vols. and mss., see Brockelmann, II, 38-41; Wüstenfeld, Geschichtschreiber, 482. See also Quatremère and printed works below.)
- al-Nuwairī, Abul-'Abbās A. b. 'Abd-al-Wahhāb b. A. Šihāb-al-Dīn ... al-Bakrī al-Taimī al-Kindī al-Šāfi'; (ob. 732/1332): *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*. Leiden MSS. Cod. 2 et 19 Gol.; Vat. MS. 741. (Brockelmann, II, 139-40; Wüstenfeld, no. 399.)
- al-Šafadī, Abu 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Abī M. 'Abdallah al-'Abbāsī al-Hāsimī known as ...; (ob. after 711/1311): *Nuzhat al-Mālik wal-Mamlūk fī Muhtaṣar Sīrat man waliya Miṣr min al-Mulūk*. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS., fonds arabe 1706. (De Slane, 317; Brockelmann, II, 35.)

The printed books consulted¹⁾ in the footnotes are:—

- Arnold, T. W. *Preaching of Islam*. 3rd ed. photographed from 2nd. London 1935.
- Atiya, A. S. (a) *A Fourteenth Century Fatwa on the Status of Christians in Mamlūk Egypt*.—*Studien zur Geschichte des Nahen und Fernen Ostens*. Festschrift P. Kahle. Leiden 1935.
- (b) *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*. London 1938. (References made to title only.)
- Bélin, M. *Fétouâ relatif à la condition des Zimmis*. Journ. Asiat., IV^e série, T. XVIII (1851), 417-516.
- Berchem, Max van. *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicorum*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique française au Caire. T. XIX. Paris 1894.
- Bolland., Soc. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. Brussels 1909.

¹⁾ Famous dictionaries (Arabic and Persian) quoted in footnotes are not included in this bibliography.

- Finke, H. *Acta Aragonensia*. 3 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1908-22.
- Golubovich, G. *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*. (Old Series.) 5 vols. Florence 1906-27.
- Heyd, W. *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*; 2 Bde.; Stuttgart 1897. Standard enlarged French transl. by Furcy-Raynaud and author, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge*; 2 vols.; Paris 1885-86.
- 'Inān, Muḥammad 'Abdallah. *Miṣr al-Islāmiya wa-Tārīḥ al-Ḥiṭaṭ al-Miṣriya*. Cairo 1931.
- Lammens, H. *Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes*. Rev. de l'Orient Chrétien, IX (Paris 1904).
- Lane-Poole, S. *Egypt in the Middle Ages*. London 1925.
- Lot, H. *Essai d'intervention de Charles le Bel en faveur des chrétiens d'Orient*. Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, XXXVI (Paris 1875), 588-600. (See also BEC, 4^e série, V [Paris 1859], 503-9.)
- al-Maqrīzī (vide supra MSS). Al-Mawā'iz wal-I'tibār bi-Dīkr al-Ḥiṭaṭ wal-'Āfār. Būlāq ed., 2 vols., A. H. 1270. New ed. and Fr. trans. by Gaston Wiet, in progress, Cairo 1911 etc. (See also Quatremère.)
- Migne. *Patrologia Graeca* etc.
- Miller, W. *The Latins in the Levant*. London 1908.
- Miret y Sans, J. *Sempre han tingut béch les oques, apun-tacions per la historia de les costums privades*. (2 sections.) Barcelona 1905-6.
- Olwer, L. Nicolau d'. *L'expansio de Catalunya en la Mediterrànea Oriental*. Enciclopèdia Catalunya, vol. I. Barcelona 1926.
- Pijoan, J. *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*. Barcelona 1907.
- al-Qalqašandī, Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad; (ob. 1418). *Ṣubḥ al-A'šā*. 14 vols. Cairo 1913 etc. (See also Lammens.)

- Quatremère, E. *Histoire des Sultans Mameloukes d'Égypte*. Paris 1837 etc. (Fr. Trans. of a part of Maqrizī's Kitāb al-Sulūk; vide MSS.) New ed. of text begun by M. M. Ziāda, Cairo 1934.
- Reynaldus, O. *Annales Ecclesiastici*. Continuation of Baronius; several editions; Last ed. 31 vols., Bar-le-Duc and Paris 1864–83.
- Schlumberger, G. *Expédition des «Almugavares» ou Routiers Catalans en Orient, 1302–11*. Paris 1924.
- Smaika, Marcus Pasha. *Guide Sommaire du Musée Copte et des principales églises du Caire*. Cairo 1937.
- Smedt, etc. *Analecta Bollandiana*. Paris and Brussels 1882 etc.
- Treps, G. de. *Un viatge a Terra Santa en Català*. (Vide Pijoan, Anuari etc., 1907.)
- Tritton, A. S. *Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*. Oxford 1930.
- Weil, G. *Geschichte des Abbasidenchalifats in Ägypten*. 2 vols. Stuttgart 1860–62.
- Wüstenfeld, F. *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten*. Göttingen 1845. (See Maqrizī's Ḥiṭaṭ.)
- Zetterstéen, K. V. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane*. Leiden 1919.

CHAPTER I

First Embassy

In his *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*¹⁾, Golubovich gives a series of embassies from Aragon to Egypt reconstructed on the basis of purely Aragonese material. He places the first of these under the year 1303; but judging from the Arabic correspondence here under consideration, there had been an earlier embassy in the course of 1300. The first letter issued by Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir²⁾ during his second reign to Jaime II (1291–1327) and dated 13 Šawwāl 699/6th April 1300 establishes this fact beyond doubt. The subject-matter of this letter, which is our only guide to the aims and results of this First Embassy, may be analysed in the following:—

1. A preamble referring at some length to the raids of the Tatars on Mamlūk territories in Asia, where the Sultan stresses in particular the vigour with which he had repulsed their attacks and won great victories for Egypt against these redoubtable enemies³⁾.

1) Vol. III, 73–85, 185–7, 309–18; Finke, II, nos. 461 and 472, pp. 744–5 and 758–9 respectively.

2) al-Malik al-Nāṣir Naṣir-al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn whose three reigns date as follows:—

(a) 14 Muḥarram 693—11 Muḥarram 694/14th December 1293—1st December 1294.

(b) 4 Ġumādā I 698—23 Šawwāl 708/7th February 1299—5th April 1309.

(c) 2 Šawwāl 709—20 Dūl-Ḥiġġa 741/5th March 1310—6th June 1341.

3) Evidently, al-Nāṣir is referring here to his wars with Ġazān on the Syrian border in the same year (699–700/1300–01); cf. Quatremère, T. II, pt. 2, 145 et seq.; Zetterstéen, 75 et seq., 83–6.

Aziz Suryal Atiya, Egypt and Aragon.

2. Acknowledgement is made of the purport of a letter received from the King of Aragon¹⁾ as well as a verbal message conveyed by his ambassadors regarding the important subjects of trade and of pilgrim traffic to the Holy Land. In both cases, the Sultan accedes to Jaime's requests.

3. On the subject of trade, the *text* reads:—

«وعلمنا من مضمون كتابه ومشافهته ما قصده في معنى
التجار والمتردين من بلاد البضايع وما سألهم من أن يكونوا يترددون
من بلاده إلى بلادنا ومن بلادنا إلى بلاده آمنين مطمئنين وأجبناء إلى
ما قصده في ذلك.»

Translation: "And we have understood from the purport of his²⁾ letter and verbal message what he wished in the matter of the merchants and people coming from his country (Aragon) with goods, and his request that these might be allowed to travel from his territories to ours and *vice versa* in peace and security. And we have acceded to his request in this respect."

4. On the subject of pilgrimages, the *text* reads:—

«... في معنى من يختار الحضور من بلاده لزيارة بيت القدس
الشريف وما سألهم من تمكينهم من ذلك وأن يكونوا آمنين مطمئنين
فقد علمنا بذلك وأجبناء إلى قصده من هذا الأمر.»

Translation: "In regard to those who wish to visit Jerusalem from his country and his plea that they might be permitted to do so in peace and security, we acknowledge this and we have granted his request in this connection."

1) Unfortunately, no trace of this letter can be found in the works of either Finke or Golubovich, and the task of searching for it in the Aragonese MSS. has still to be undertaken.

2) The use of the 3rd person makes the text a little confusing and ambiguous. This may mean either the King or his ambassadors. The first meaning (the King) is adopted here as the stronger of the two possibilities.

5. In conclusion, the Sultan informs the King that he is returning his ambassadors accompanied by Egyptian envoys with presents to the court of Aragon, thereby establishing amicable relations between the two countries. The passage ends with this formula:—

«وإننا قد أجبناء سؤاله إلى ما طلبه في الصكبة والمودة، فنحيط
عليه بذلك ونواصل بكتبه وأخباره النخ.»

Translation: "And we have agreed to his (the King's) proposal of amity and goodwill. So let it be known to him, that we may continue to exchange letters and news with him etc."

This was an auspicious beginning to the diplomatic exchanges which took place between Egypt and Aragon during the next three decades of the fourteenth century. The question of the Aragonese letter to which reference is clearly made in the Arabic text remains to be solved. There appears to be no trace of it in the published material, but the absence of this embassy in Golubovich's work calls for a revision of his conclusions in this connection.

CHAPTER II

Second Embassy

Jaime II availed himself of the Sultan's goodwill. In 1303 he despatched a Second Embassy to the Mamlūk court. His letter, dated Villafranca-del-Panadés¹⁾ 1st June 1303, included the following requests:—

1. Re-opening of Christian churches in return for freedom of worship accorded to the Moors in Christian Spain.
2. Liberation of Aragonese prisoners.
3. Restoration of 12,000 besants wrested from merchants of the city of Barcelona by the Sultan's customs authorities at Alexandria.

It is interesting to note how Mamlūk hegemony is recognised at the outset of the Aragonese letter of which the following relevant sections are quoted to illustrate Jaime's petitions:—

«Al molt alt et molt noble et molt pederós e nomenat savi et discret Melich Annacer Soldan de Babilonia et de tota la terra de levant . . .

« . . . Com nos aiam entès que vos aiats ordonat que totes les Esgleyes dels Xristians (sic) que son en el Caire et en Babilonia sien tancades e nos franchament et sens nul embarch als sarreyns qui son en tots los nostres Regnes e terres lexem entrar en lurs Mesquites et fer lur offici axi com si eren en la lur terra, pregam vos que vos les dites Esgleyes fassats obrir et en aquelles lexets als dits Xristians (sic) fer et cantar loffici de Deu.

1) Situated west of Barcelona slightly towards the south in the interior of Aragon.

«Aiam entès encara que missatges Dacre¹⁾ qui anaren al Solda qui lavors era, entrels quals son frare Lop de Linares et laltre frare G. de Vilalba et frare Barthomeu de Vilafranca et frare G. Dostarrich²⁾ qui foren preses en Triple, son en vostra preso, per que us pregam caramente que vos los dits preses nos deiats donar et atorgar et tre metre per ço com son naturals nostres.

«Si a encara mostrat a nos per mercaders de nostra terra que XII mille besans foren preses a mercaders de la Ciutat de Barchinona per la duana de Alexandria, per queus pregam que vos los dits XII mille besans ordonets et manets restituir a els o a lur procurador.

«E com nos pensam la gran amor et amistat qui estada es entre la casa de Babilonia et la casa nostra Darago. E per ço de present aiam provehit et ordonat de trametre a la vostra presencia lo feel et familiar nostre Neymerich Dusay, pregamvos que vos al dit Eymerich deiats creure de ço que sobre les dites coses vos dira de nostra part.³⁾ . . .»

Jaime's letter thus ends by commending the Aragonese ambassador Neymerich Dusay who evidently reached his destination in the same year (1303). On two occasions, Maqrīzī records the arrival of an Aragonese embassy with valuable presents at that time—first in *Kitāb al-Sulūk*⁴⁾, and secondly in the *Ḥiṭaṭ*⁵⁾. The Sultan's reply embodied in the second Roll of our correspondence (13 Šawwāl 703/19th May 1304) is devoted almost wholly to the treatment of the Copts and the re-opening of some of their churches. After the usual formal addresses, the *text* reads:—

1) The King's ambassadors to the Sultan reigning at the time, probably Lāḡin (1296–99).

2) G. d'Osterreich! These four friars, identified by Eijan (*España en Tierra Santa*, 24–5, 126–7) as Franciscans, are believed by Golubovich (op. cit., III, 76 note 1) to have been either Templars or Hospitallers.

3) Arch. de la Corona de Aragon, Reg. 334; cf. Golubovich, III, 75–6.

4) Cf. Quatremère, T. II, pt. 2, p. 229.

5) Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Copten*, 32 (text).

وفأما ما ذكره بسبب الكنائس بالديار المصرية، وأنه بلغه أنه أُغْلِقَتْ أبوابها، ومُنِعَ النصارى من الصلاة فيها، وما ذكره في هذا الفصل وما يتعلق به؛ وكذلك حديث الأسرى الذى قصد قبول شفاعته فى الإفراج عنهم وإطلاقهم؛ فقد أحطنا علماً بجميع ما ذكره فى هذه الأمور.... وسيُرى الآن رسولنا الأمير فخر الدين عثمان الناصرى.... فيشافه الاعتماد على ذلك.... ولأجل منزلته ومودته الأكيدة عمدنا أجبننا سؤاله فى أمر الكنائس ورسمنا بفتح كنيسة بمدينة القاهرة المحروسة، مع أن أمر الكنائس الرجوع فيه إلى الشرع الشريف، ومقتضى الشرع الشريف أن لا يبقى منها شيء مفتوحاً إلا ما هو من العهد العُمري، وكلما تجدد بعد العهد العُمري يقتضى شرعنا وديننا أن لا يُفتح؛ وانفق أنه تجددت بعد العهد العُمري كنائس كثيرة، والملاك يعلم أنكم كما يجب عليكم الوقوف عند شرعكم وأحكام دينكم، كذلك نحن أيضاً يجب علينا أن نقف عند شرعنا وأحكام ديننا.... وقد سیرنا له الهدية النخـ.

Translation: "With reference to what he (the King) mentioned in regard to the churches in Egypt and that he had heard that they had been closed and that the Christians were prohibited from saying their prayers therein (& C.¹), as well as his statement concerning the captives on whose behalf he urged acceptance of his appeal for their liberation, we have taken note of all that he had put forward in these matters. ... And we have despatched to him our envoy al-Amir Faḥr-al-Dīn 'Oṭmān al-Nāṣiri²) ... in order that he may verbally express the reliance

¹) Here I have dropped the phrase وما ذكره فى هذا الفصل owing to its redundancy in English.

²) "Mir Facardi" and "Fracaldi" in the Spanish documents; Golubovich, III, 77, 186; cf. Third Embassy. Maqrizī (cf. Quatremère,

on this (our word). ... And owing to his (the King's) place and his proved amity with us, we have responded to his intercession in regard to the churches and decreed the re-opening of two¹) of them in the city of Cairo, not-

l. c.) identifies him as Faḥr-al-Dīn 'Oṭmān ostādār (major-domo) of al-Amir 'Izz-al-Dīn Afram.

Maqrizī relates a confusing story from which it may be deduced that Faḥr-al-Dīn did not reach Barcelona on this occasion. Under the year 703/1304, where the advent of the Aragonese embassy is reported, he details the story of a prisoner of the island of Arwād who was set free amongst others as a result of Jaime's mediation. As Dusay, Faḥr-al-Dīn and the freed prisoners were about to sail from Alexandria, the Sultan was informed that the Arwād prisoner was the son of a powerful monarch for whose liberty he could exact a heavy ransom. The Sultan at once re-captured his former prisoner, and Dusay retaliated by seizing Faḥr-al-Dīn's possessions and placing him on a barge on which he drifted back to Alexandria. The result of this ill-advised and undiplomatic act on the part of the Aragonese ambassador was that the Sultan issued orders to the authorities at Alexandria to arrest all Franks coming from Barcelona. Quatremère, II 2, 229; Weil, I, 268-9; Golubovich, III, 76 et seq.

Without disputing the truth of this story, it appears, however, that Maqrizī erred in putting it under the year 703/1304. The Aragonese letter of the Third Embassy (*vide infra*) removes all doubt as to Faḥr-al-Dīn's arrival at Barcelona on the occasion of the Second Embassy; and the possibility of the above-mentioned diplomatic complications must have arisen only as late as 705/1306,—a fact which is further proved by Dusay's landing in Sicily at that time and retarding his journey to Barcelona for fear of Jaime's anger and punishment. Additional material on this subject may be found under the next Embassy. For details of Dusay's career, see Miret y Sans, Section II, 23 et seq., summarised by Golubovich, III, 80-3.

¹) These were the Jacobite church of Hāret (Alley of) Zuwaila and the Melkite church in the arbalesters' quarter in Cairo. This appears in both Maqrizī's works—*al-Sulūk* (cf. Quatremère, l. c.) and *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* (cf. Wüstenfeld, op. cit., 32 text).

On a previous occasion in the year 700/1301, two other churches—al-Mo'allāqa of the Jacobites and St. Michael's of the Melkites—were also re-opened as a result of an appeal from the Byzantine Emperor. This was the year of the great persecution of the Copts which was started by an open complaint against their life of luxury by a Magribin Wazīr at Cairo on his way to Mekka. It ended in imposing the blue turban instead of the

withstanding the fact that the subject of churches can (only) be settled in accordance with the religious law, which enacts that none (of these churches) may be left open except those which were in existence at the time of the Covenant of 'Umar¹). Our law and religion necessitate the closing of all those (churches) which were recently founded after the Covenant. It so happened that numerous churches were newly established; and as the King is aware that as he is bound to abide by his ecclesiastical law and the tenets of his religion, so are we bound to abide by ours. ... And we have ordained the despatch of presents to him."

It is needless to stress the weakness of the Sultan's argument in justification of the closing of Coptic churches which were undoubtedly much more numerous at the time

white as the Christian head-dress, in prohibiting all Christians from horse-riding in public, and finally in their dismissal from the government service. Moreover, there was a general uproar among the rabble who attacked the Coptic churches and inflicted wholesale destruction upon them. Maqrīzī's *Sulūk*, Cambridge MS. Qq., f. 186 ro et vo, (cf. Quatremère, II, 177 et seq.; Wüstenfeld, 31 text; Zetterstéen, 84 et seq.).

Maqrīzī's account in the Cambridge MS. (f. 186 vo) ends thus:—

«ثم قدمت رسل ملوك آخر ففتحت كنيسة حارة زويلة وكنيسة نقولاء»

This is evidently a reference to the Aragonese embassy here under consideration as the mention of the Jacobite church of Hāret Zuwaila coincides with the statements quoted above, while the specification of St. Nicholas's church at this juncture provides the necessary material for the identification of the Melkite church in the arbalesters' quarter.

It is noteworthy that this persecution was incited by one who was not a Muslim native of Egypt at a time when Muslim and Coptic natives lived in harmony under al-Nāṣir's protection. See my *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 272 et seq., especially 274 note 2.

1) On the "alleged" Covenant of 'Umar, see Tritton, *Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects*, 5-17; Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, 57 et seq.; Golubovich, op. cit., IV, 88 et seq. For the treatment of "ahl al-dimma" as revealed in official documents, see Bélin's *Fétouâ* in *Journ. Asiat.*, IV série, T. XVIII (1851), 417-516; also my *Fatwa* in *Festschrift Kahle*, 55-68. Cf. my *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 274 note 1.

of the "alleged" Covenant of 'Umar than in the fourteenth century. On the other hand, thanks to Jaime's mediation and al-Nāṣir's enlightened policy, the Jacobite church of Hāret Zuwaila and the Melkite church of St. Nicholas in the arbalesters' quarter in Cairo were re-opened and a measure of freedom of worship was granted to the Copts. The despatch of an Egyptian embassy with presents to the court of Aragon shows the Sultan's favourable response to the Aragonese overtures.

CHAPTER III

Third Embassy

If al-Malik al-Nāṣir had fully demonstrated his willingness to enter into diplomatic relations with Aragon, Jaime II was eager to preserve them. Approximately one year after the success of his Second Embassy, the King decided to send a third. On 1st September 1305 he supplied the same Neymerich (or Eymerich) Dusay of the previous mission with a letter addressed to al-Nāṣir and instructed him to proceed to the Mamlūk court. The present document opened with a reference to Faḥr-al-Dīn's appearance at Barcelona. In common with its predecessor, it included two appeals,—the first for the protection of Christians resident in the Sultan's realm, and the second for the deliverance of certain Christian captives in Egypt. A new and important request was moreover made in regard to pilgrims carrying an Aragonese royal brief. For these, the King sought to obtain the right of free access to the Holy Sepulchre as well as safe-conduct in their peregrinations throughout the Sultan's dominions without payment of customs or duties. The following includes the relevant sections of the afore-mentioned letter:—

«... La vostra noblea segons que a nos ha estat proposat per lo dit Eymerich missatge nostre et encara per lonrat missatge vostre per vos a nos tremes per nom Mir Facardi¹), respos molt francament et liberal de totes les dites coses, mas per ço cor la casa de Babilonia era estada escarnida per alguns falsaris missatges²), ordona la vostra noblea de tremetre a nos lo dit missatge...

1) *vide supra*, 22 note 2.

2) The reference to forged embassies using Jaime's name under false pretences is interesting as it indicates how far his influence at Cairo became known in the West.

«On encara pregam la vostra noblea ... de dar et de atorgar a nos totz los catius que en poder vostre son que de la terra nostra sien.

«... volem pregar e pregam cament la vostra noblea que plasia a vos de atorgar et de fer gracia a nos que per honra nostra tot xhristia (sic) qui vaia o entena danar al Sepulcre, portant nostra carta ab nostra bulla, pusea anar, estar et tornar salu et segur per tota vostra terra et senyoria, no pagan ne donan negun dret ne tribut.

«E com a tot bon princep pertanga de mantenir totz aquels qui en sa terra et proteccio son et estan, la vostra noblea pregam cament que los xhristians (sic) que en la vostra terra estan sien et estien en vostra proteccio et guarda et comanda, ... axi com feyen el temps del molt noble et honrat pare vostre...

«E com nos siam estaz pregats pel noble et car nabot nostre don Ferrando¹) Rey de Castela, que deiam la vostra noblea pregar per Johan Pereç Calvets et Vasco Peric Fajardo et Alfonso peris que son en vostre poder, los quals son de ça terra: E encara ... per Bertran de la Popia de Caersi ... pregam ... que plassia a vos los ditz catius dar et ortogar a nos et tremetre ensemps ab los altres de que us pregam per lo dit missatge nostre²).»

On receipt of this letter, al-Nāṣir gave careful consideration to Jaime's requests³). The Sultan's letter of 1 Ša'bān

1) Ferdinand IV, King of Castile.

2) Arch. de la Corona de Aragon. Reg. 334; cf. Golubovich, III, 77-9.

3) A tentative treaty is known to have been contemplated between Egypt and Aragon at this time. Dusay was the prominent factor in defining its terms which may be outlined as follows:—

(a) Conclusion of a permanent peace between Egypt on the one hand and Aragon, Naples and Sicily on the other. Jaime was to sign this on behalf of Charles of Naples and Frederick of Sicily.

(b) The King of Aragon would impede any movements in the West for a *passagium generale* against the Sultan, not only by using his influence amongst the latins, but also by arming 100 galleys to intercept their forces.

(c) Catalans and other Christians should carry timber and iron (indispensable as war materials) to Egypt.

Finke, II, 744-5 (no. 461); Golubovich, III, 83.

705/16th February 1306 makes this clear. The points at issue in it may be summarised in the following:—

1. Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land might be undertaken in peace and security.
2. An order from the court at Cairo was issued to the governor of Alexandria to ensure the safety of all Aragonese merchants or subjects resident in that city.
3. Christian captives in Egypt were released, but the Sultan made the remark that there were no Aragonese subjects among them. The friendly relations which prevailed between the two sovereigns, al-Nāṣir argued, were the best guarantee against the imprisonment of Jaime's subjects.

Together with this epistle, a separate note (Roll IV) of high interest was issued by the Sultan on approximately the same date. This completed the credentials of Fahr-al-Din 'Oṭmān, for the second time Egyptian ambassador to the court of Barcelona. The note, here reproduced in full, together with a modest attempt at an English translation, includes a list of gifts from al-Nāṣir to Jaime which may be of unusual interest to the historian of mediæval commerce and industry in the Levant. Its contents may be classified under three general headings:—

1. Manufactured articles—cloths of various workmanship.
2. Implements of war—bows and cross-bows.
3. Natural products—balsam and incense.

Heyd dealt with the first and last of these categories in detail in the elaborate supplements to his *Histoire du commerce du Levant*¹⁾ which need hardly be recapitulated here. Heyd's treatment, however, is almost wholly based on western material of an early date, and it has to be re-considered and amplified in the light of recent discoveries as well as the Arabic sources, both published and in manuscript, from which much of value could be gleaned. Professor Kahle has, for example, drawn my attention to the wonderful fourteenth and fifteenth century collection of ecclesiastical vestments of Egyptian and

1) Vol. II, 414-16 and 693-710.

Oriental provenance disinterred in the Marienkirche at Danzig¹⁾. This and the ever-increasing collections of the Arabic and Coptic Museums in Cairo together with the gleanings from the chronicles of Maqrizī, Ibn Iyās and other contemporaries, may provide another researcher with an admirable basis for a special study of a fascinating subject. Here I have to be contented with contributing towards that end by the publication of the present inventory of fourteenth century articles of luxury. The technical difficulties in defining each article necessarily makes my translation a somewhat tentative one, and I do not profess any acquaintance with this specialised branch of knowledge. In style, too, it has to be remembered that the terms of this inventory are neither purely literary nor strictly colloquial, but a hybrid of both. The use of adjectives in both the feminine and masculine forms²⁾ to describe one and the same substantive is a prominent instance of the spoken Arabic of Egypt at that time.

Text:—

«بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. —
«المعنى: من الخزانة العالمية المملوكة السلطانية الملكية الناصرية،
خُذ الله مُنْكَ مَالَكُهَا! مُسَيَّرًا إِلَى الْمَلِكِ الْيُدْرَاغُونِ» صاحب برجلونه،
صُحْبَةِ الْمَجْلِسِ السَّامِيِّ الْأَمِيرِ فَخْرِ الدِّينِ عَثْمَانَ الْأُرْمَى فِي الْعَشْرِ
الْأَوَّلِ مِنْ شَعْبَانَ سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَسَبْعٍ مِائَةٍ. —

تَعْبِيَّةٌ قَمَاشُ

عَشْرُونَ قِطْعَةً

تَقْصِيلُ ذَلِكَ

1) W. Mannowsky, *Der Danziger Paramentenschatz, Kirchliche Gewänder und Strickereien aus der Marienkirche* (5 Bde., Berlin 1931-1938), T. I, 13 and T. II, 15 et seq. with magnificent plates of vestments bearing inscriptions such as ... عز مولانا السلطان الملك لعاذل العالم ناصر الا — السلطان الملك العالم — السلطان العالم.

2) For example سوسيه and تفاصيل مقترحه حريرى مظهره
حريرى محمور مصورة

3) Rey d'Aragon.

عمل الدار مصمت	تفاصيل كنجى بظهر
ثلثة قطع	نقش ومصمت
أحمر	اثنان
أصفر	
واحد	اثنان
تفاصيل مقترحه	عمل الدار ملون
حريرى مطهرة اربعة	ثلثة
تفاصيل بندق مطهرة	مقطع بياض بظهر
ثلثة	
سوسيه حريرى مكمّر	سوسيه حريرى
مصورة	شرب مخدومه
	فوطه حريرى
	مخوخه

قسى بندق بأوتارها	قسى حلق ليد
خمسه	عشرة
عود بخور	دهن بلسان ¹ ضمن
زنة للفم	فقاذه زجاج
	مايه وعشرين مثقالاً

«الحمد لله وصلاته على سيدنا محمد²».

Translation: "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate!"

"Object (of letter or note): From the supreme, lordly, Sultaniya, royal, Nāṣiriya treasury—may God perpetuate

¹) That is *βάλσαμον* *بَلْسَم*, Balsamum. Cf. P. Guiges, *Les noms arabes dans Sérapion «Liber de Simplici Medicina»*, Journal Asiatique, 10^e série, T. V (1905), 495-6.

²) Dotting, which I have supplied, fails in the original on the following words of the above list:—

كنكى — مطهرة — مخوخه — بخور

the kingdom of its possessor! Despatched to the King of Aragon, lord of Barcelona, with his Excellency Faḥr-al-Dīn Oṭmān al-Aframī¹) during the first ten days of Ša‘bān in the year seven hundred and five²)”—

Bale of Cloth.

Twenty³) Pieces.

Details thereof:

"Gangī⁴) pieces of cloth⁵) with embroidered and plain surface⁶). Two (pieces)."

"Home-manufactured (i.e. in the state factory) plain-coloured cloth. Three pieces—two red, one yellow."

"Home-manufactured cloth in colour. Three (pieces)."

"Pieces of cloth made to order with silken surface. Four (pieces)."

"Roll of linen⁷) with (special) surface⁸) (material)."

¹) One of al-amīr 'Izz-al-Dīn Afram's mamlūks and his *ostadār* or *major-domo*. Cf. Quatremère, II₂, 229.

²) 16th-26th February, 1306.

³) This is evidently a mistake by the scribe. The total number of pieces according to the details of the list is only nineteen and not twenty.

⁴) Cloth of silk and cotton manufactured at Ganza or Canza in the province of Arrān—see Dozy s. v. *قطنى*.

⁵) *تفاصيل* pl. of *تفصيله*, i. e., piece of cloth large enough for one robe.

⁶) The words *مُطَهَّرَة* and *بَظْهَر*, which belong to the same root, must be connected with *ظاهر* as against *باطن*, *مِبْطَن* and *بطانه*, that is the upper surface of the cloth usually worked with fineries (e. g. silk, brocade, etc.) as against the lower surface or lining of inferior quality.

⁷) Both *مَقْطَع* and *بِياض* are words still in use in Egypt. The former means a roll of cloth, and the latter linen including bed clothing. Dozy (*Vêtements chez les arabes*, Amsterdam 1843), 180-81 note, defines the word *مَقْطَع* simply as linen which appears to confirm our definition.

Professor Kahle has further drawn my attention to the use of the word *مقاطع* (pl. of *مقطع*) in the following quotation from Ibn Dāniyāl:

«وأكثر الأوقات تطوف على الخراير فى الدور، وتبيع مقاطع الخام والمقصورة»
Ibn Dāniyāl (ob. 1311) was a contemporary of this document.

⁸) *vide supra*, note 6.

- "Venetian pieces of linen¹) with (special) surface (material).
Three (pieces)."
"Silken *sūsiya*²) *šarb*³) specially prepared."
"Silken *sūsiya* in red⁴) with paintings."
"Silken *fūta*⁵) dyed peach-colour⁶)."
"Bows with ring for hand!⁷) Ten."
"Cross-bows with their strings. Five."
"Balsam essence inside a glass vessel⁸). 120 *mitqāls*⁹)."
"Incense stick. One weight!¹⁰) For the mouth."
"Thanks be to Allāh, and may His blessings be upon our
Lord Muhammad etc."

1) بندقي appears in Lane as "garment, or piece of cloth, of fine, delicate, or thin linen".

2) سوسي is the thin fine linen manufactured in the town of Soussa (in Tunis) and used for turbans. See Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld), III, 191; Dozy (*Vêtements*), 317.

3) شرب pl. شروب is a kind of silk; but pl. شرابي means fine linen (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*). The former explanation is more likely. Hence the general meaning of سوسيه شرب must be cloth of fine linen worked with silk-thread.

4) مُحَمَّر is red, but مَحْمَر here means dyed with red—thus plain red in the background with paintings in the foreground.

5) فوطه, dealt with at length by Dozy (*Vêtements*, 339–43), is a word still in use in Egypt. It might mean apron, piece of cloth used by women as head-dress, or piece of cloth in place of the *sarāwīl* (pair of drawers). In modern Egyptian Arabic it means either serviette, napkin, towel or apron.

6) In the original مَخُوخه with dot failing on second letter. It is possible to read مَخُوخه from مَخُوخ (kind of wool) or مَخُوخه from خوخه (peach) which is adopted in this version and may mean either peach-coloured or with peaches painted on it.

7) I cannot identify these bows beyond what is mentioned in the text.

8) For فقاء see P. Kahle, *Die Schätze der Fatimiden*, ZDMG, T. 89 (1935), 344 and note 5.

9) 1 *mitqāl* = 4.25 grams. Hence total weight of balsam presented to Jaime must have exceeded ½ kgrm., exactly 510 grams. See art. *Mithqāl* in *Encyc. of Islam*.

10) What this weight might be, is difficult to know. Evidently the incense is meant here for perfuming the mouth.

The remaining history of Faḥr-al-Dīn's second embassy and its fate, cursorily outlined in a previous note¹), calls for recapitulation and some further consideration. Laden with the aforementioned valuable presents, he was enjoined by the Sultan to proceed to the court of Aragon in Dusay's company. Maqrizī's error in placing the present embassy under the year 703/1304 has already been rectified in the course of our account of the Second Embassy; but the details with which he provides us are interesting nevertheless²). Together with both envoys was a company of freed captives³); and all were about to set sail at Alexandria when a member of al-Nāṣir's intelligence informed him of the existence among the prisoners of a son of a powerful monarch⁴) for whose liberation he could exact a heavy ransom—"a ship full of gold". Thus the Sultan's love of gold outweighed his magnanimity, and he hastened to re-arrest his former captive. Enfuriated by the Sultan's action, Dusay retaliated on the spur of the moment by placing Faḥr-al-Dīn on a barge to drift back to Alexandria after seizing all his goods and chattels. In fear of the repercussions of his arbitrary mis-handling of the Egyptian envoy, Dusay is said to have taken refuge at the court of Frederick II of Sicily to whom he surrendered his galley; but he was ultimately carried to Barcelona where he had to face the anger of his rightful king⁵).

Whatever Dusay's fate may have been, the immediate effect of his maltreatment of Faḥr-al-Dīn was an order from Cairo for the arrest of all Aragonese subjects and the confiscation of their property in Alexandria. The matter was considered at Barcelona with the utmost gravity, and for

1) *vide supra*, 22 note 2 continued on p. 23.

2) Cf. Quatremère, II, 229.

3) According to Golubovich (III, 80), these were twelve.

4) Possibly Dalmau de Rocaberti, a brother of the Archbishop of Tarragona, who was received by Dusay with such pomp as could not escape the notice of the Sultan's agents and arouse their suspicion. Cf. Golubovich, I, c.

5) Golubovich, III, 81.

approximately eight years diplomatic relations with Egypt were suspended by Jaime II, evidently on the ground that all good prospects of a permanent friendship with the Sultan were spoilt by Dusay. When the King attempted a further *rapprochement* as late as 1314, his letter to al-Nāṣir was most apologetic and betrayed a sense of uncertainty as to the possible response in Cairo. On the other hand, it seems doubtful whether Jaime's forebodings were justifiable. The Sultan's feelings were not embittered beyond repair. Apart from the order issued against the Catalans in Alexandria, which was only natural in the circumstances, the matter fell quickly into oblivion. Indeed Maqrīzī states that after the landing of Faḥr-al-Dīn at Alexandria, "he was conducted to Miṣr (Cairo) where he complained to the amīrs, thus saying that all that was wrested from him had been borrowed by him; but no one took notice of his claims¹." The last phrase is significant as it shows how lightly this incident was regarded at the Mamlūk court. Al-Nāṣir himself was not unwilling to reach an understanding with Aragon. On the contrary, he demonstrated his goodwill by acceding to Jaime's requests on the first possible occasion. The sum-total of our argument is, therefore, that the situation at the beginning of 1306 might have taken a serious turn, but in reality it could not have been so hopeless as to justify the premonitions of the authorities in Barcelona. In 1314 the unhappy Dusay episode had probably been long forgotten as it was readily forgiven by the Sultan, and good relations between the two sovereigns soon resumed their normal course.

1) Quatremère, II, 230.

CHAPTER IV

Fourth Embassy

On the resumption of diplomatic exchanges with Egypt, Jaime II condemned his former ambassador and tried to excuse himself of the Faḥr-al-Dīn incident in a letter of 8th September 1314 in the following terms,—

"E no vulla lexar dobehir los precs del rey Darago per ço que sesdevench del seu missatge Fracaldi¹), lo qual Neymerich Dusay damunt dit malvat missatge del rey Darago lexa della en la terra, segons que sap lo Solda. Car daço lo rey Darago no nach colpa neguna; ans li pesa molt et nach gran greuge segons que feu saber al Solda per ses letres²)."

Jaime then introduced his new ambassadors, Guillén de Casanal (or Casanadal) and Arnaldo de Bastida (or Sabastida) as "nostres missatges honrats e leyls e dels quals nòs fiam³)."

The objects of the present embassy may be classified in this wise:

1. Freedom of worship or Christians in the Sultan's dominions.
2. Safe-conduct for pilgrims to the Holy Places.
3. Deliverance of Christian captives.

As will be seen from the text of the Sultan's letter (Roll V⁴) dated 'Day of Sacrifice', i. e. 10 *Dul-Ḥiğğa* 714/17th March 1315), al-Nāṣir received the Aragonese embassy favourably and

1) Fakhr-al-Dīn—*vide supra*, 22 note 2.

2) Arch. de la Corona de Aragon, Reg. 337, f. 231; Finke, II, 751-2; cf. Golubovich, III, 186 note.

3) Miret y Sans, II, 24-5; cf. Golubovich, III, 185 note.

4) *vide supra*, Introduction, 13.

مطلوب، ومصافاته مستدنية له من جميل وذادنا كل مُقْتَرَح ومن جليل وفائنا كل مرغوب. — صدرت هذه المكاتبَةُ مُبْتَهَجَةً بُوْدَةً، مُعْلِمَةً بقربه من الخواطر على بُعْدِهِ، شاهدة بما هو مستقر في الضماير من الوثوق بمحافظته وعهده، مهدية إليه من السلام ما يعذب في الاستماع الارتواء من ورده، وموضحة لعلمه وزود كتابه على يد رسله الفارس المحتشم كليم مرتنت ندال¹ وأرناط سابستيدة؛ وقابلنا كتابه بالتكريم الدال على الوداد، والقبول الشاهد باجتماع القلوب على البعاد، والابتهاج المتخبر بماله في الضماير التي هي كل يوم في ازدياد؛ وأحضرنا رسله بين أيدينا، وعاملناهم من الأكرام بما تحققوا به رفعة مكانته لدينا، وقابلناهم من الإحسان والقبول بما علموا به ابتهاجنا بكلما يرد من جهته إلينا؛ وضافنا إكرامهم واحترامهم، ووجدوا من إحساننا كلما حقق سؤلهم ومرامهم؛ وأنهبوا إلينا ما حملهم الملك من المشافهة التي وجدت منا حسن القبول والإقبال، وأحطنا علماً بمضمونها. — فأما ما ذكره من محبته لنا، وتقربه إلى خواطرننا، وإثارة العمل بما تقتضيه آراؤنا الشريفة، فقد علمنا جميع ما ذكره من ذلك وأقبلنا على إخلاص محبته، وشكرنا هذا القصد الجميل والنية الصالحة، وتحقيقنا بذلك حسن مودته وعمله على التقرب من خواطرننا وإن كان بعيداً عنا، وصار له بذلك عندنا المكانة الجيدة والمحل الذي يسره، فيستمر على ما وصفه من موالاته وإخلاصه في المحبة لأيماننا الشريفة، ويواصل بكتبه وأخباره، وما لعله يعرض له من المقاصد والمطالب. — وأما ما ذكر في مشافهته التي تحملها رسله عنه من أمر الأسرى الذي قصد إطلاقهم بمقتضى الورقة التي أحضروها صاحبتهم فقد علمنا ذلك؛ والذي نُعْلِمُهُ به أن هاولاء الذين حصل طلبهم من المفسدين وممن كانوا يوافقون على الأدب في البلاد، وإنما لأجل خاطر كلام حضرة الملك وإرساله

¹ Dotting fails on this name in the original.

accorded high honour to its members. Although this letter is not explicit in its response to Jaime's first two appeals, the general tone of its contents implies the approval of both principles of freedom of worship for Christian subjects and free access for Latin pilgrims to the Holy Land. The Sultan, on the other hand, deals at some length with the matter of the prisoners and names in particular two of them,—

افريير كليم وافريير دالماط¹

I reproduce the full text of this roll which, together with another to appear under the next embassy, may serve to illustrate the nature and general style of the rest of this correspondence.

Text:

«محمد بن السلطان الشهيد الملك المنصور سيف الدين قلاوون.»

«بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.»

«أطال الله تعالى [بقاء²] حضرة الملك الجليل المكرّم الخطير، الباسل الضرغام الزير³؛ جام⁴ العالم في ملته، العادل في مملكته؛ عز الأمة المسيحية، نصره دين النصرانية، فخر الملة العيسوية، عمدة بني المعمودية؛ صاحب أرغونه وبلنسية وجزيرة سردينية وكرسقه، وكومس⁵ برجلونه، ومقدم البحر وأمير علم كنيسة روميه⁶. — ولا زالت مودته ثابتة في القلوب، ومحبته مُقَرَّبَةً من اعتنائنا كل

¹ Friar Guillelmus de Vilalba and Friar Dalmau de Rocaberti. For the second, *vide supra* Third Embassy, 33 note 4.

² Fails in original, but supplied by comparison with text under Sixth Embassy. *Vide infra*, 47.

³ Read الضرغام الزائر. ⁴ That is, Jaime.

⁵ Also قومس (cf. text under Sixth Embassy)—the Latin 'Comes' or Count.

⁶ This is not a haphazard title. Jaime had actually acquired from Pope Boniface VIII the title of "Standard-bearer, Captain and Admiral of the Roman Church" which is almost literally reproduced in the Arabic text of this letter as well as the other under the Sixth Embassy. Cf. Reynaldus, ad ann. 1297 no. 19 et seq.; Heyd, II, 31.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ، وسؤاله في معاناهم، أطلقنا الموجود منهم في هذا الوقت، وهم الأكابر المعتبرين (sic) منهم الأعيان وهم افرير كليام وافرير دالمات ورفقتهم ستة نفر، مع علم الملك محيط بأن هاولاء ما فيهم مَنْ أُخِذَ من بلاد الملك ولا من حصل التعرض إليه في جهته، وإنما حضروا إلى نجدة أعداء البلاد الإسلامية المحروسة فاستأسرتهم الجيوش والعساكر المنصورة مع من أسروه؛ ومع ذلك لأجل الملك ومكانته من خواطرننا وما نوتره من إجابة قصده أطلقنا له هاولاء الجماعة الذين سيّرناهم إليه. — وأما ما جئته مع رسله من الهدية المباركة المسيرة بذلك، فقد وصل ذلك صحبة رسله، وعرض بين أيدينا، وقابلناه بالقبول وحسن موقعه من إقبالنا. — وقد سيّرنا لحضرة الملك من أبوابنا الشريفة على سبيل البركة ما تضمنته المسيرة . . . 1) مثالنا هذا من الخزاين العالية لما للملك أبقاه الله في خواطرننا من علو المكانة والمنزلة، فيحيط علمه بذلك. — والله تعالى يسلك به أجمل المسالك؛ إن شاء الله تعالى، كُتِبَ يوم عيد النحر المبارك سنة أربع عشرة وسبعمائة حسب المرسوم الشريف. —

«الحمد لله وحده، وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه،
حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل. —»

Translation: "Muhammad, son of the Sultan, the martyr, al-Malik al-Manşūr Sayf-al-Dīn Qalāwūn.

"In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

"May God prolong the existence of the august King, the glorious, worthy, formidable, valiant, roaring lion, the Jaime, the learned in his religion, the just in his kingdom, the might of the Christian nation, the champion of Christianity, the pride of the community of followers of

1) Word illegible in original.

Jesus, the support of the sons of baptism, Lord of Aragon, Valencia and the island(s) of Sardinia and Corsica, Comes of Barcelona, Admiral of the sea, and Prince of the standard of the Church of Rome! May his friendship remain fixed in the hearts; may his love bring every request nearer to our consideration; and may his sincerity realise for him every proposal with our goodwill and every desire with our loyal accomplishment!

"Rejoicing in his affection, this epistle has been issued to declare his nearness to our thoughts in spite of his remoteness and to testify to our firm confidence in his loyalty to his pledge as well as to offer him a greeting which would please the hearing. Let it be known¹⁾ to him that his letter arrived by the hand of his noble envoys the worthy knight Killiam Martinez²⁾ (de Casa)nadal and Arnāt Sabastida; and that we have met it with such favour as to denote our friendship, and such welcome as might indicate the reunion of the hearts despite distance, and such gladness as might tell of our ever-increasing thoughts for him. We granted his envoys an audience and we treated them with a hospitality from which they realised his (the king's) lofty place with us, and met them with a beneficence and a favour through which they knew our joy with whatsoever comes on his behalf to us. (Indeed) we doubled the hospitality and deference (accorded) to them, and they found in our bounty all that complied with their request and their wish. They imparted to us the verbal message entrusted to them by the King, and this met with our great welcome and goodwill, and we took note of its purport.

"As to what he (the King) related concerning his love for us, his desire for our goodwill, and his preference to act in accordance with our noble views, we noted all that, and we recognised the sincerity of his love and praised

1) Literally this sentence should be linked with the preceding one—"and to let him know that etc."—but this would make it cumbersome in English.

2) Martinez does not occur in the Spanish documents.

this good purpose and upright intention. We were thus assured of his great affection and his action to gain our goodwill notwithstanding his remoteness from us. He has thereby acquired such an excellent position with us and a place which would please him. Let him therefore persist in what he has described of his loyalty and devotion to us, and let him continue (the communication of) his letters and news together with such wishes and requests as might occur to him.

"In regard to what he stated in the verbal message conveyed by his envoys in the matter of the captives for whose freedom he pleaded in the brief which they brought with them, we took note thereof. We inform him, however, that those (captives) demanded by the King are mischief-makers who were accessories in doing injury in the country. Nevertheless, for the King's sake and on account of his intercession on their behalf, we have released all those who were still detained here at present—namely, the distinguished notables including Ifrīr Killiam and Ifrīr Dalmāṭ¹) and in their company six others. Let it be known to the King, however, that none of these was captured from his country and that none was intercepted in his region; but they came to the reinforcement of the enemy of the protected Islamic lands, and so the victorious armies and troops seized them amongst others. Yet, for the King's sake, his position in our thoughts, and our preference to grant his wish, we have freed for him those people whom we have despatched to him.

"As to the blessed (or generous!) gift which he sent with his envoys in accordance with the note relating thereto, this arrived with them and was displayed to us and we accepted it with a double welcome.

"And we have despatched to the King from our royal treasury as a token of our blessing²) the presents recorded

1) *vide supra*, 36 note 1. 2) That is, 'by way of a gift'. The words are inserted to make it clear that the presents were not in the nature of a tribute.

on the enclosed¹) note owing to his lofty place in our thoughts—may God preserve him! So let this be known to him. May the Almighty, the High lead him into the best paths; by the grace of God! Written on the blessed day of the Sacrifice of the year seven hundred and fourteen in accordance with the noble decree.

"Thanks be to God alone, and His blessings be upon our Lord Muḥammad, his family and his companions.

"In God we trust, and good is the trustee²)."

Whatever the form of the text may be, the essence of al-Nāṣir's epistle is on the whole clear. In the first place, he refers to the King's ambassadors, easily identified as Guillén de Casanal and Arnaldo Sa-bastida. In the second place, he emphasises the reciprocity of their friendship and the atmosphere of trust and good understanding between both sovereigns. In the third place, he records the liberation of Christian prisoners including one friar Guillén or Guillaume (probably G. de Vilalba) and another friar Dalmaṭ (undoubtedly Dalmau de Rocaberti) together with six others in response to the King's appeal in spite of his belief that these were not Aragonese subjects and the fact that they were captured in a state of aggression against the forces and lands of Islam. In the fourth place, he acknowledges receipt of the King's presents, and, in return, he despatches others from Egypt to Aragon. We may therefore conclude that al-Nāṣir's present epistle admirably demonstrates the spirit of goodwill and perfect harmony between the two countries.

1) *vide supra*, 38 note on illegible word in the original text. The sense is here tentatively construed.

2) *Qur'ān*, 3172 (Sūrat 'Āl 'Imrān).

CHAPTER V

Fifth Embassy

In the year 1318, Jaime II decided to send another embassy to the Mamlūk court. He appointed a noble of Barcelona named F. de Villafrancha, knight and King's 'minister'¹⁾, as his chief ambassador. This was accompanied by Arnaldo Sa-bastida, who had already participated in the Fourth Embassy and whose name was mentioned in al-Nāṣir's letter of 17 March 1315²⁾. The task of the two ambassadors, formulated in the King's brief of 27th August 1318³⁾, consisted first of an acknowledgement of the Sultan's favourable response to Jaime's appeal of 1315 on behalf of Christians in captivity of whom six⁴⁾ had been set free. Secondly, a further request was made for the deliverance of those who still remained in the Sultan's hands, in particular three prisoners in whom the King apparently took an unusual interest. In his private instructions of the same date to his emissaries, Jaime stated that if the Sultan were reluctant

1) 'Miles et alguazirus regis'; Golubovich, III, 187. The word 'alguazirus', corresponding to the Spanish 'alguacil', is probably derived from the Arabic 'al-wazir' (minister). Golubovich's interpretation (l. c., note) of this word as 'al-uatar' (the bow string) and his assertion that it is pronounced 'al-guatar' in colloquial Arabic is of course a confusion with 'al-qaus' (bow), often pronounced 'al-gaus' in some dialects.

2) *vide supra*, Fourth Embassy, 35 et seq.

3) Arch. de la Corona de Aragon, Reg. 337, f. 233; Finke, II, 752 (no. 467); Miret y Sans, II, 25 and note 1; cf. Golubovich, l. c.

4) These are evidently the six mentioned in the Sultan's letter of 1315 (*vide supra*, Fifth Embassy). According to the text of this letter, however, it is understood that two others (Guillén and Dalmau) were also set free. It is not easy to know why the King overlooked the last two in his present letter.

to accede to a wholesale order setting Christians free without discrimination, the ambassadors should urge him to favour the natives of Aragon among them in this respect. Of those who were not Aragonese subjects, special efforts should be exerted on behalf of Bertrando de la Popia, Philippo de Menades of Cyprus, Vasco Jagerdo d'Ortigueira¹⁾ and Geraldo de la Perosa, who were the King's friends and faithful servants²⁾.

The immediate outcome of the present embassy is not easy to define with precision on the basis of extant documents. Al-Nāṣir sent no reply to this letter by return as had been his wont on similar occasions. Only four years later we find what may safely be regarded as the first official reference to this embassy in our correspondence. In the Sultan's epistle of 1323³⁾, mention is made of two distinct Aragonese letters. These are undoubtedly Jaime's letters of 1318 and 1322. As will be shown at a later stage, the Sultan's statements in his epistle of 1323 concerning the deliverance of captives must be linked up with the substance of the Aragonese letter of 1318, while the rest is expressly related to the subject-matter of that of 1322. If this view is accepted, the Fifth Embassy must have ultimately realised some of its aims, judging from the Sultan's own words that he freed 'as many captives as possible and returned them with a greeting which they should convey to him⁴⁾ (the King).'

1) Town situated at the extreme north-west coast of Spain in the old Kingdom of León. 'Dortiguera', as it appears in the original document, is adopted in secondary literature (see, for example, Golubovich, l. c.) as one word forming part of Vasco's surname.

2) The first three are those meant in the official instructions but unnamed therein. The last two were Knights Templar. Finke and Golubovich, ll. c.

3) *vide infra*, Sixth Embassy.

4) *vide infra*, 50.

CHAPTER VI

Sixth Embassy

This embassy furnishes us with some novel and interesting features in Jaime's requests to al-Nāṣir. A royal brief, dated September 1322 and addressed to 'Abulfat¹⁾ Mohamet fill del molt alt rey Almançor', was handed to the two ambassadors nominated on the occasion. These were 'Berenger de Castro episcopali miles et Geraldus de Olivaria civis Barchinonensis²⁾'. Apart from the usual plea for freedom of Christian captives, which was probably urged more by word of mouth than in writing³⁾, and from the despatch of a set of jewels in exchange for one coloured precious stone of Indian provenance which the Sultan possessed and Jaime coveted for himself, the main points treated in this document are—

1. Request that the custody and administration of the Holy Sepulchre should be entrusted to the Dominican Friars of Aragon and that the dwelling of the 'Patriarch' should be assigned to the new custodians on account of its proximity to the Sepulchre.
2. As a signal proof of his amity, the Sultan was entreated to yield to the ambassadors some sacred relics said to be in his possession and including portions of the real Cross of our Lord's Passion and Christ's Chalice as well as the body of St. Barbara.

1) That is 'Abul-Fath'. See text of Egyptian letter under Seventh Embassy below.

2) Cf. Golubovich, III, 233.

3) Reference is made in several works to prisoners set free at this juncture. These are believed to have been fourteen in number. Pijuan, 370; Finke, II, 755; cf. Golubovich, III, 233 and note 2.

The passages in which reference is made to the above-mentioned requests are worthy of special notice and are therefore quoted in the following:

".... Item pregunen lo solda de part del Rey Daragó, que per fer li seynalada honor, et per mostrarli special amor, li placia atorgar et ordonar la guarda et la administració del sant Sepulcre per tots temps a la orde dels frares Preycadors, qui es fort aprovada orde en la Crestian-dat. Axi empero quels dits frares, que en lodit servey seran deputats, sien tota hora naturals dels regnes et deles terres deldit rey Daragó. E deu mes plaer al solda, que la dita aministració sia comanada per ell a religiosos Latins, que a Grechs ne daltres nacions. E que als dits frares vulla atorgar per lur habitacio les cases que foren del patriarcha¹⁾, per ço con son contigues al loc del sant Sepulcre.

"Item li diguen et pregunen tant, con pusquen, que, con lo Rey Daragó, axi con a ell et als altres reys et princeps et altres Crestians del mon se cove, haia gran devocio en la vera creu, e haia entes, quel soldan ne ha en son tresor en gran quantitat, et haia entes encara, que ell ha lo calze en que Jhesu Christ consegra lo dia dela cena, que li ho vulla trametre per los dits missatges. E haura li mostrada molt seynalada amor. E encara lo cors de santa Barbara²⁾ lo qual es en son poder³⁾"

1) It is difficult to say what Patriarch is meant here. Golubovich (III, 310 note 2 continued on p. 311) asserts that the palace in question had been the seat of the Latin Patriarch in the days of the early crusades and of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This was situated to the north-west of the Basilica between 'Ḥuṭṭ al-Hāniqāh' (حُطُّ الْحَانِقَاء) and the 'Via de' Cristianì', known at an earlier date as the 'Via del Patriarca'. The palace was, however, in a dilapidated condition and was hardly habitable at the time.

2) St. Barbara was born of heathen parentage in the third century at Nicomedeia in Asia Minor and was martyred in 306. For the story of her life and martyrdom, see Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, T. 116, 301-16; Smedt etc., *Analecta Bollandina*, XII, 295; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 32 et seq.

Hitherto, it may be remarked, Jaime II played the part of a supreme and magnanimous protector of the Eastern Christians under Mamlūk rule with a measure of success not to be disparaged. Yet, on the occasion of the Sixth Embassy, he succumbed to the temptation of using his influence to transfer one of their time-honoured privileges to his Latin co-religionists and to appropriate one of their most treasured relics to his kingdom. It is difficult to gauge the reaction of the Eastern Christians to these attempts; but if the historian were allowed to guess, their faith in Jaime must have been shaken by these unusual and unexpected demands. The Sultan's response, judging from the terms of his letter which we reproduce below almost in full, indicates some acquiescence, but only in terms which are rather vague and indefinite. He seems to have acceded to Jaime's wishes in regard to the Dominicans at least as far as the service at the Holy Sepulchre was concerned¹⁾, but he overlooked the matter of St. Barbara's body. Not until the following embassy did

The Church dedicated to St. Barbara, still standing in restored form at Old Cairo, is described by Marcus Smaika Pasha in his *Guide Sommaire du Musée copte et des principales églises du Caire*, 67 et seq. Smaika Pasha notes the existence of a coffin with cylinders containing bones of saints inside the altar (op. cit., 68).

The church itself, according to Maqrizī (cf. Wüstenfeld, 49 text), had been demolished in the mob fury of 718 A. H. during the third reign of al-Nāṣir; but it is quite possible that the pious members of the Coptic community saved the holy relics and precious articles from the mob and that these were returned to their old place in the sanctuary at a later date after its restoration.

3) Arch. de la Corona de Aragón, Reg. 338, f. 138; Finke, II, 756 (no. 470); cf. Golubovich, III, 233-4.

1) From the purport of a relation of a voyage to the Holy Places by G. de Treps, citizen of Cervera, in 1323, published by Pijoan (*Viatje a Terra Santa*, in *Anuari*, ann. 1907, 370, 384) and quoted by Golubovich (III, 235-6 and 236 note), it is understood that Treps and a company of twelve Preaching Friars sailed from Tarragona to Alexandria and finally reached Jerusalem where they were authorised by the Sultan to assist in administering divine service at the Holy Sepulchre. This privilege was, however, short-lived as far as the Dominicans were concerned, for the King

he define his attitude towards this subject. As will be shown later, al-Nāṣir's epistle of 1328¹⁾ betrays the Sultan's cunning in trying to exploit Jaime's pious intentions by effecting a lucrative business transaction in return for the body of St. Barbara. Beyond this limit, the matter went no further. The Sultan's earnestness in the cession of St. Barbara's remains is, however, questionable. If the Church dedicated to that saint in Old Cairo was levelled to the ground in the mob fury of 708/1318 and, as Maqrizī puts it, nothing was left on its site but 'a heap of dust'²⁾ (كوم تراب), how could al-Nāṣir in all good faith promise something which either no more existed or at least was out of his reach?

Having thus reviewed the developments connected with the episode of St. Barbara's remains, we must now return to the Sultan's epistle of which the text and an English version are here put forward.

Text:

«بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم. —

«أطال الله بقاء حضرة الملك الجليل المكرّم المبجل الموقر المفتّح الباسل الخطير، العالم في ملّته، العادل في أهل مملكته، ملك أرغون وبلنسية وسردانية وكرستة، وقومص³⁾ برجلونه، وأمير علم كنيسة رومية⁴⁾، عزّ الأمة المسيحية، فخر الملة العيسوية، أكبر ملوك المعمودية، نخر دين النصرانية⁵⁾. — ولا زالت مودته تودى لنا

of Aragon's next brief to the Mamlūk court in 1327 recommended, not the Dominicans, but the Franciscans to be entrusted with the divine offices. (Golubovich, III, 237; see also Seventh Embassy.) At any rate, there is little to prove that the service was wholly transferred to the Latins and that the Greeks were excluded from it.

1) *vide infra*, Seventh Embassy.

2) Cf. Wüstenfeld, 49.

3) Also كومص *vide supra*, 36 note 4. 4) *vide supra*, 36 note 5.

5) Note slight variations in title of King of Aragon as compared with:

(a) previous Arabic text under Fourth Embassy;

(b) version in al-Qalqaṣandī (*Subḥ al-A'ṣā*, Cairo ed., VIII, 36) quoted by Lammens (*Correspondances diplomatiques*, Rev. de l'Orient Chrétien, IX, 167 translation and 376 text).

المسلمين الذين في بلاده الذين استقرّوا بها بعد ما استقرّرت عليهم
أحوالهم لهم عوايد متقدّمة بالكرامة والرعاية وعدم المعارضة في
المساجد المستقرّين بها، وأنهم الآن ربما تغيّرت عوايدهم في ذلك
وصاروا لا يتمكنون من النّأذين في مساجدهم وإقامة الصلاة بها؛ والمراد
من محبته الصادقة أن يتقدّم بالوصية التامة بجميع من في بلاده من
المسلمين وإجرائهم على أجمل عوايدهم، وأكمل قواعدهم، ولا يغير
عليهم مغير في مساجدهم، والإعلان بصلاتهم، وكف الضرر عنهم،
ورعاية جانبهم؛ فهو يعلم أننا قد ألقى الله تعالى إلينا مقاليد²
ساير أهل الإسلام حيث كانوا وأبن كانوا، فأى مكان وجدّ به أحد المسلمين
كانوا متعلّقين بنا، ويتعيّن علينا رعايتهم، فيفعل في أمرهم ما
نتخذ له به أكمل المودة، وأجمل الصّحبة؛ وهمته تغنى عن التوكيد
في ذلك، والله تعالى يشكر وداده، وبوقف اعتماده. —

«أن شاء الله تعالى»

«كتب في خامس عشر صفر المبارك سنة ثلاث وعشرين وسبعماية
حسب المرسوم الشريف. — الحمد لله وحده، وصلّى (sic) الله على
سيدنا محمد نبي الرحمة وآله وصحبه وسلّم. —
«حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل.»

Translation: "In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Com-
passionate!

"May God prolong the existence of the august King,
the glorious, worthy³) and formidable, the learned in his
religion, the just among the inhabitants of his kingdom,

1) In original أننا أننا

2) I have copied مقاليد in my transcript of the original. Nevertheless
I have adopted مقاليد in the text—a word derived from the Qur'ān (39⁶³),
42¹⁰) which construes better on this
occasion.

3) Lammens (op. cit., l. c.) puts «المكرّم المبجل» of his Qalqašandī
text as 'glorieux, considéré'. In our text, these terms are extended to

النصائح، ومحبته تؤدّد له أسباب المصالح، وهمته يثنى عليها كل عاد
ورايح. — صدرت هذه المكاتبه إلى حضرة الملك الجليل توضح لعلمه
ورود مكاتبته، فوقفنا عليها، وعلمنا مضمونها. — فاما [ما] وصفه من
محبته وصادقته السالفة من قديم الزمان فقد علمناها، ونحن نتحقق
ذلك منه ولا نشك في مودته الخالصة من الشوايب، ومحبته التي
سلك منها أجمل المذاهب؛ ولأجل هذا لا نزال نوّقر جهته، ونُكرّم
كل من ينسب إلى بلاده، ونبتهج بورود من يرد من تلقايع. — وأما
تجهيز رسله فقد وصلوا إلينا وعاملناهم بالكرامة والرعاية؛ وأوردوا
إلينا ما تحمّلوه من المشافهات والمقاصد؛ وأحضروا ما صحتهم من
التقدمة وأجملنا ملقاهم وأجبنا إلى ما سأل من مقاصدهم، وأحسنّا
مرجعهم؛ وأعدنا عليهم ما يعرفون به، وأطلقنا من أمكن إطلاقه لهم
من الأسرى وأعدناهم إليه، وحملناهم من السلام عليه ما يبدونه له. —
وأما ما ذكره في مكاتبه ثانية بسبب الرهبان الذين أرسلهم، فقد
أجبناهم إلى ملتسمهم. — وأما بقيّة النصارى فهم عندنا موقرين (sic)
الجانب على ما يسره لأنهم رعايانا، وبحمد الله ما يكون أحد من رعايانا
إلا موقراً من جميع المكاره، آمناً من كل ما يسوءه أو يشوش عليه، فيكون
مستقر الخاطر بهذا السبب. — ونحن نعرفه أنه بلغنا أن جماعة من

The latter reads as follows:

«أدام الله تعالى بهجة الحضرة الموقرة، الملك الجليل المكرّم المبجل
الخطير البطل الباسل الهمام الضرغام الرّيدراغون فلان، نصير النصرانيه،
فتخر الأمة العيسوبه، زخر الملة المسيحيه، حامى الثغور، متمكّن
السواحل والبحور، عماد المعموديه، ظهير بابا روميه، ملاذ الفرسان،
جمال التّحوت والتّيجان، صديق الملوك والسلاطين، صاحب
برجلونه. —

On comparing this with the set of titles in our original texts, it appears
that al-Qalqašandī, in spite of his learning and general accuracy, has
failed to reproduce in full what he had at his disposal.

the King of Aragon, Valencia, Sardinia and Corsica, Comes of Barcelona, Prince of the standard of the Church of Rome, might of the Christian nation, pride of the community of followers of Jesus, the greatest of the kings of baptism, the treasure of the Christian faith!

"May his amity continue to inspire us with (good) counsels, and his love ensure for him the means of benefits, and his zeal compel the praise of all men!

"This epistle has been issued to the presence of the august King to inform him of receipt of his brief and our knowledge of its purport.

"In regard to what he has described of his affection and friendship from olden times, we have taken note of this,—(indeed) we are convinced of it and entertain no doubt as to the purity of his love and the affection which he has shown in the best ways. We therefore persist in our deference towards him and extend our hospitality to all those who belong to his country; and we rejoice in the advent of his representatives.

"As to the despatch of his envoys, these have reached us and we have generously and considerately treated them. They have imparted to us the verbal messages and the requests with which they were entrusted; and they have brought what gift they had, and we have welcomed them and consented to what was reasonable of their requests. We have granted them free leave to return and we have informed them of what they should express to him. We have freed for them as many captives as possible and returned them with a greeting which they should convey to him.

"As to what he (the King) stated in a second letter¹) in regard to the monks sent by him, we have acceded to

«المبجل المكرم الموقر المفترم» which invariably convey the same general sense and strictly speaking mean 'the respected, reputed, regarded, worthy'.

1) Jaime's two letters are those of 1318 and 1322.

their plea. As to the rest of the Christians, these are safe in our quarters in a way which will please him, for they are our subjects, and by the grace of God everyone of our subjects is but amply secured from all harm and safe from what might offend him or disturb him. He (the King) may therefore rest assured on this account. We inform him, however, that it has come to our knowledge that a community of Muslims who have remained in his territories after the disturbance of their conditions¹), have been accustomed from of old to honour, protection and non-aggression in the mosques where they abide. Now these customs have often changed for the worse, and they are no longer able to call for and hold prayers in their mosques. It is desired of his (the King's) true affection that he should issue a comprehensive order regarding all Muslims resident in his country so that they might be allowed to enjoy the practice of all their customs and their tenets undiminished, that no aggressor might attack them in their mosques, that they might proclaim their prayers, and that they might be secured from harm and remain under protection. He (the King) is aware that God the High has entrusted us with the management of the affairs of all the people of Islam in whatever place they may be. So wherever any of the Muslims is to be found, he has held himself to be dependent on us and it is therefore our duty to provide him with protection. Let him (the King) therefore deal with them (the Muslims) in a way which will secure for him our fullest affection and best friendship. His (the King's) zeal, however, saves us further emphasis in this respect; and may the Almighty repay his friendliness and ensure the success of his endeavour, by the grace of God!

"Written on the fifteenth of the blessed (month of) Šafar in the year seven hundred and twenty-three in accordance with the noble decree.

1) This is of course a reference to the re-conquest of Spain from the Moors.

"Thanks be to God, and His blessings and peace be upon our Lord Muḥammad the prophet of mercy and his family and his companions.

"In God we trust, and good is the trustee."

Apart from the main objects of this embassy and the Sultan's response treated in our introductory remarks, the present epistle offers a feature of special interest to the historian of Egypt as it throws light on the place which the Mamlūk Sultans occupied in the wider world of Islam during the Later Middle Ages. Here al-Nāṣir styles himself as supreme protector of all the Muḥammadan nations, and it is in this capacity that he mediates on behalf of the Moors under Christian rule in Spain. The welfare of Muslims wherever they may be, al-Nāṣir puts it, is a trust incumbent upon him by divine will. The value of his pronouncements is further enhanced by their official nature. This document therefore offers ample proof as to the existence of the idea of a pan-Islamism under the leadership of Egypt in our period. The conception of a universal Islamic polity, which constituted one of the basic principles of Islam since the days of the Orthodox Caliphs, is here vigorously and clearly brought forward by al-Nāṣir in favour of the powerful Mamlūk dynasty; and hegemony over the rest of the Muḥammadan world is here re-claimed for Egypt¹).

1) Compare this with the terms of the inception of Jaime's letter of 1 June 1303 where al-Nāṣir is styled as 'Sultan of Babylon and of all the land of the Levant'—a form of recognition of Mamlūk hegemony over the Islamic world in the Near East.

CHAPTER VII

Seventh Embassy

On August 20th 1327—that is, five years after the launching of the Sixth Embassy—Jaime II issued a new brief at Barcelona whereby he commended his 'beloved and faithful servant' Pero de Mijavilla to al-Malik al-Nāṣir. In common with the objects of former embassies, Mijavilla's primary task was to secure the deliverance of more Christian captives from the Sultan's hands, especially those of Aragonese nationality. For the rest, the main feature of Mijavilla's embassy was to renew his predecessors' efforts by ensuring a share of the divine service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for the Latins. This time, however, Jaime courted al-Nāṣir's favour for the Franciscans of Aragon instead of the Dominicans. The King further asked for a special section of the Basilica to be allotted to the Minorite Friars and once more applied for a particular dwelling-place in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral grounds for the said brethren. It is interesting to note that no direct mention was here made of the patriarchal palace which he had formerly tried to appropriate for the Dominicans although, if we believe Golubovich's authority on this matter, the same building was again meant for transfer to Latin hands¹).

The following are the relevant parts of the Aragonese brief illustrating Jaime's requests to the Sultan:

"Vos pregam cament, que, con encara sien romases catus en vostre poder: Bonanat Catala de Barcelona e Johan Rodriguez Navarro e Jaquet Angles Torçimayn e

1) Golubovich, III, 311-12, contends that the palace must have been granted to the Franciscans in the period 1323-27 for the first time, and since then became a Minorite Convent.

alcuns altres, vullats en honor nostre deliurar los desus nomenats e alcuns altres assenyadament de nostres regnes, los quals lamat et feel servidor nostre en P. de Mija vila¹⁾ qui esta letra nostra vos presentara, nomenara a la vostra altea, e aquells deliurats a nos trametre.

"Encara pregam que vos vullats atorgar, que religiosos frares Menors [de nostres regnes hagen alcun loc devot en la esglea, del dit san Sepulcre e prop la dita esglea en lo qual puxen servir deu, e los crestians peregrins enformar en la fe; e que aquests frares Menors²⁾] puxen anar per vostres regnes e terres franchament, e que nols sia demanat trahut, peatge, ne dret algun: e quels frares Menors, specialment, e tots altres Christians sien en vostra comanda e defeses per vos e per vostres almirats. ³⁾"

Thus armed with his credentials, Pero de Mijavilla proceeded on the outward journey to Egypt. He boarded a merchant ship belonging to one of his countrymen named Francesco Bastide and sailed first from Barcelona to Aigues-Mortes on the south coast of France. There he was joined by another ambassador, Guillaume de Bonnesmains, who was appointed by Charles IV le Bel (1322-28) with the sanction and blessing of Pope John XXII (1316-34) to mediate with the Sultan on behalf of the Christians of the East⁴⁾. The representatives of the two great western powers,

1) Believed by Eijan (*España en Tierra Santa*, 24) to have been a Franciscan; but Golubovich (III, 313 note 1) considers this to be a doubtful assumption. Mijavilla appears in reality to have been a regular merchant as will be shown below from the course of his embassy.

2) Variations in passage between square brackets in Finke's *Acta Aragonensia* are corrected by Pijoan (see following note) and adopted by Golubovich (III, 313 note 2).

3) Regesta Jacobi, II, reg. 338, f. 140; Finke, II, 758-9 (no. 472); Pijoan, *Anuari*, ad ann. MCMVII, 371-2; cf. Golubovich, III, 313-14.

4) For details and documents of this French embassy, see Lot, *Essai d'intervention etc.*, Bibl. de l'Éc. des Chartes, IV^e série, T. V, 503 et seq., and T. XXVI, 588 et seq.

Al-Nuwaiti (*Nihāyat al-Arab*, Leiden MS. V Cod. 19, f. 127)

however, did not confine their plans and activities to the original aims of their embassies. Contrary to established usage on such solemn occasions, Mijavillo and Bonnesmains concluded a trade pact whereby they intended to utilise their diplomatic privileges and influence in furthering their own private interests in purely commercial matters¹⁾. The French envoy, who failed to cope with the unscrupulous methods of his Catalan colleague, suffered the worst share of the bargain and at a later stage his very life was at stake on the high sea during the return journey. The trouble between the two ambassadors began to brew as the coast of Alexandria came within sight on their arrival. In defiance of the Frenchman's protests, the Aragonese standard alone was hoisted on Bastide's vessel both by cunning and by force. Again at Cairo, when the Sultan appeared to have favoured Bonnesmains and rumours circulated—so we are told—that al-Nāṣir was even willing to surrender Jerusalem to the King of France, Mijavilla's jealousy was aroused and so he embarked on an intrigue against his French companion. The embassy of France, he asserted, was a mere feint designed to mask the real intentions lying behind it. While the King of France made these ostensibly amicable overtures at the court of 'Babylon', he was in fact shielding an aggressive plan against Egypt and he was indeed actively equipping a fleet of 300 galleys

makes an interesting reference under the year 727 A. H. to the advent of an embassy from 'al-Bāb' (the Pope) and King 'Faransīs' to mediate on behalf of the Christians of the East or 'Ahl al-Dimma' (people of the covenant) and that the Sultan responded favourably to their appeal. The chronicler further says that since the reign of the Aiyubid Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Naḡm-al-Dīn (1240-49) no such embassy had been received from that king. This statement might help to confirm the argument that the embassy recorded on this occasion was in all probability that of Charles IV of France. Cf. *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 514-15 note.

1) Among the articles of trade shipped by the ambassadors were Saracen slaves; cf. Lot, op. cit., XXVI, 590.

It is needless to say how papal bulls had strictly prohibited this trade in slaves who were intended to reinforce Mamlūk ranks with fighters against Christendom.

for attacking its coast and catching the Sultan unawares¹). The Catalan's trick seems to have produced the desired effects on the course of events. In the last audience given by the Sultan to Bonnesmains, the ambassador was badly treated and al-Nāṣir withdrew his so-called offer of the Kingdom of Jerusalem to the King of France, while Mijavilla reaped all the fruit and favour at the Mamlūk court to himself. This result having been reached, the ambassadorial ship finally took to the sea in the direction, not of Aigues-Mortes, but of Barcelona where the Catalan intrigue was continued, and Bonnesmains was consequently detained for a time and at last allowed to leave Aragon only after losing all bag and baggage²).

Judging from the text of the Sultan's epistle handed to Mijavilla before his departure from Cairo, it is not easy to define the outcome of the Aragonese embassy with precision in regard to the details of Jaime's requests. That Mijavilla was treated with favour by al-Nāṣir, is a foregone conclusion. That he realised all or most of the aims of his embassy, must on the other hand remain in the realm of possibilities. Apart from these facts, the Sultan's present epistle offers some features of particular interest:

1. Unlike most of his other epistles, this one begins with the full titles of the Sultan which may serve some purpose for the students of Egyptian diplomatics.
2. Like most of the other epistles, it next includes the titles of the King of Aragon which, though similar in general terms to the versions previously quoted, vary in matters of detail.
3. Finally, the Sultan reverts to the subject of the transfer of St. Barbara's body to Aragon with which we have

1) Lot, l. c.

2) Bonnesmains later brought his case before the legists of the *Parlement de Paris* on 26th May 1339; but the death of Charles IV on 1st February 1328 complicated matters for him and the case dragged on for years afterwards with doubtful issue. Lot, op. cit., l. c.

already dealt under the Sixth Embassy¹), and here we have to be contented with al-Nāṣir's own statements in the following text.

Text:

«من السلطان الملك الناصر السيد العالم العادل (2) المظفر المنصور، وناصر الدنيا والدين، سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين، محيى العدل في العالمين، منصف المظلومين من الظالمين، وارث الملك، سلطان العرب والعجم والترك، اسكندر الزمان، مولى (3)، صاحب القبلتين، [خادم⁴] الحرمين الشريفين، سيد الملوك والسلاطين، أبى الفتحة⁵ محمد بن السلطان الشهيد الملك المنصور سيف الدين قلاوون⁶، خلد الله سلطانه.

«بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.

«أطال الله بقاء حضرة الملك الجليل المكرم المفتاح الموقر، الباسل

1) *vide supra*, 46-7.

2) Worn out. Cf. note 6 below.

3) Worn out.

4) Worn out, but always خادم in other versions.

5) *vide supra*, 44, 'Abulfat etc.' in Aragonese letter under Sixth Embassy.

6) Cf. van Berchem, 152-5, 167-9; Zetterstéen, 25, 53. Both include similar but relatively incomplete sets of titles of al-Nāṣir which, on the whole, appear to be scarce and shorter than those in our text. Van Berchem (126-7), however, quotes an interesting inscription from the 'Madrasah' of al-Nāṣir's father which may throw light on the subject owing to its considerable length and fulness, and we therefore reproduce it here for further reference and comparison:

«السلطان الأعظم الملك المنصور العالم العادل المؤيد المظفر المجاهد المنصور؛ سيف الدنيا والدين، سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين، سيد الملوك والسلاطين؛ سلطان الأرض، ذات الطول والعرض؛ ملك البسيطة؛ سلطان العراقيين والمصريين، ملك البحرين والبحرين؛ وارث الملك، ملك ملوك العرب والعجم؛ صاحب القبلتين، خادم الحرمين الشريفين؛ قلاوون الصالحى، قسيم أمير المؤمنين؛ أدام الله نصره النج. —»

الضرغام الخطير، العالم في ملته، العادل في أهل مملكته، دُونُ القونس الريدراغون، صاحب مُلك أرغون وبلنسيه وبرجلونه، فخر الملة الصليبية، عماد الأمة المسيحية، كبير دين النصرانية، صديق الملوك والسلاطين. — وأدام بمحبتته، ووالى باتباع المراضى الشريفة مسرته، وجعل تمسكه بأسباب المخالصة وقاية وجنته. — صدرت هذه المكاتبه إلى حضرته، تشكر مودته، وتصف صداقته؛ وتُعلمه أن مكاتبته وردت فوقفنا عليها، وتعلمنا مضمونها. — فأما ما ذكره بسبب الكنيسة التي عُمِّرت في بلاده، وقصد نقل ما قصده من جسد

The following continuation is made afterwards:

«... الآملين، كنز العفاة والمنقطعين، منصف المظلومين على الظالمين، قاتل الكفرة والمُشركين، قاهر الخوارج والمتمردين، سيف الدين قلاوون النج. —»

Nearly a century later (22nd September 1422), we find the following admirable example in Amari's *Diplomi Arabi* (Florence 1858), I, 165:

«السلطان الأعظم، الملك الملك، الأشرف السيد الأجل العالم العادل المجاهد المرباط المثافر المؤيد المظفر المنصور، سيف الدنيا والدين، سلطان الإسلام والمسلمين، محيي العدل في العالمين، منصف المظلومين من الظالمين، قانع الخوارج والمتمردين؛ وارث الملوك، ملك ملوك العرب والعجم والترك؛ مبيد الطغاة والبغاة والكفار، واهب الممالك والأقاليم والأمصار؛ حجة الحق، على الخلق؛ اسكندر الزمان، ناشر لواء الإحسان، ملك أصحاب المنابر والتخوت والتيجان؛ مالك البحرين، صاحب سبيل القبلتين، خادم الحرمين الشريفين؛ ظل الله في أرضه، القايم بسُننه وفرضه؛ سلطان البسيطة، مومن الأرض المحيطة؛ إمام المتقين، سيد الملوك والسلاطين، قسيم أمير المومنين؛ أبو النصر برسباي؛ خلد الله تعالى سلطانه، ونصر جنوده وأعوانه، وأفاض على البلاد والعباد جوده وإحسانه. —»

بربارة إليها، فقد علمنا الصورة وصارت عند خواطرننا الشريفة؛ وإذا تقدّم بأرسال مراكب جيدة فيها بضائع كثيرة، فرسم عند ذلك بقضاء شغله، وإجابته إلى ملتسمه، فيعلم ذلك... .
«كتب في خامس عشر جمادى الأولى سنة ثمان وعشرين وسبعماية. —»

Translation: "From the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, the lord, learned and just, ... the conqueror, the victorious, upholder of the world and of religion, Sultan of Islam and Muslims, executor of justice among mankind, supporter of the oppressed against the oppressor, inheritor of kingship, Sultan of Arabs and non-Arabs and Turks, the Alexander of the time, master of . . .¹⁾, lord of the two Qiblas²⁾, servant of the two holy sanctuaries³⁾, liege-lord of kings and sultans, Abu-l-Fath⁴⁾ Muḥammad ibn al-Sulṭān the martyr al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf-al-Dīn Qalāwūn. May God perpetuate his sultanate!

"In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

"May God prolong the existence of the august King, the worthy, glorious, honoured, valiant, formidable lion, the learned in his religion, the just among the people of his kingdom, Don Alfons⁵⁾, the Rey d'Aragon, lord of the Kingdom of Aragon, Valencia and Barcelona, pride of

1) Fails in original, *vide supra* text and note.

2) Mekka and Jerusalem.

3) Mekka and Medina.

4) *vide supra*, 44, 'Abulfat etc.' in Aragonese letter of September 1322 under Sixth Embassy.

5) The address of this epistle to 'Don Alfons' in spite of the fact that the Aragonese letter was received from Jaime II is interesting; for the latter died during the interval between the two letters on 2nd November 1327 and was succeeded by Alfonso IV, and this news must have reached the Mamlūk court in time to address the said epistle to the reigning king. 'Alfons' or 'Alfonsh' is, however, sometimes used by the Egyptian scribes as a title instead of a proper name.

the faith of the Cross, pillar of the Christian nation, the great one of the Christian religion, friend of the Kings and Sultans! May he persist in his love, and may he continue through the pursuit of loyalty to the noble satisfaction (of the Sultan) his own joy; and may he ensure his own safety and paradise by his adherence to the ways of sincerity! This epistle has been issued to his presence to give thanks for his goodwill, to describe¹⁾ his friendship, and to inform him that his letters have arrived, and that we have taken note of them and understood their purport. As to what he stated on account of the church founded in his country and regarding his wish to transfer Barbara's body to it, we have taken note of the proposal which is under our noble consideration. If he were to order the despatch of excellent ships containing plenty of goods, we should subsequently decree the fulfilment of his business and accede to his plea. So let this be known to him

"Written on the fifteenth of Ġumādā I in the year seven hundred and twenty-eight." (29th March 1328.)

Beyond the formal protestations of love and friendship between the two monarchs, the outcome of the Seventh Embassy seems to suffer in comparison with that of its predecessors. The only matter of some importance explicitly mentioned in al-Nāṣir's epistle was the project of handing St. Barbara's body to Jaime's envoys, and even this remained in suspense and was probably never settled in the King's favour for reasons already enumerated elsewhere²⁾. Apart from its value to the historians of the Coptic Church, the real worth of the present document is principally confined to the sphere of Egyptian diplomatics.

1) In the sense of re-assert or confirm.

2) *vide supra*, 45, Sixth Embassy.

CHAPTER VIII

Eighth Embassy

It has already been remarked in connection with the First Embassy that our knowledge of it is based on the Arabic sources and that it remains for scholars of Aragonese history to complement it with the corresponding Spanish letter. The same remark applies to the Eighth Embassy. The Sultan's epistle, of which the important sections are reproduced below, was issued on 20th February 1330. It acknowledges in unmistakable terms receipt of an Aragonese brief together with Aragonese presents and further, it gives the name of the chief ambassador as 'Afransis Morkos' (Francesco Marco!), who was also accompanied by others. So far as we can see, the letter to which reference is made by the Sultan, appears to fail in the sources for Aragonese history hitherto published; and the task of bringing it to light must be left to other researches or other circumstances.

Like its predecessors of the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Embassies, the present epistle belonged to the period of al-Nāṣir's third reign. In Aragon, the Eighth Embassy owed its origin, not to Jaime II, who had died on 2nd November 1328, but to his successor Alfonso IV (1327-36), who appears to have been equally anxious to preserve the good relations with Egypt at least in the first few years after his accession to the throne. Al-Nāṣir's policy remained unchanged by Jaime's death, and his epistle to Alfonso retains the friendly characteristics and expressions of goodwill towards Aragon.

Beginning with the usual address, which is here curtailed to avoid unnecessary repetition, the text of the said epistle reads as follows:

Text:

«... ولا زالت وسائله مقبولة، ورسائله غرّ النسيم منقوله،
ومسائله بأحسن جواب موصوله. — صدرت هذه المكاتبة تحمل
إلى حضرته من الود ما يتضوّع، ومن الشكر ما يتنوّع، ومن الثناء
ما يُطَنّ أن الشمس من أزراره تتطّلع؛ وتعلمه أن مكانته وردت
على يد رسوله الماحتشم الجليل افرنسيس مركس ومن معه، فحلّت
من أبوابنا العالية بالرحب والسعة، وتجلّت من الإكرام بقول يطرب
سمعه؛ وقرّضت من أيديهم في أبوابنا الشريفة عرضاً جميلاً، وصادفت
من عواطفنا إقبالاً وقبولاً؛ وأحطنا علماً بما تضمنته من ود صريح،
وعهد صحيح؛ ومحبة لم تنزل ملكوطة من صدق وداده، محفوظة
في كل قلب لا يشك من المخالصة في جميل اعتقاده. — ووصل ما
أتخف بإهدائه السنافر¹ التي هي من أفخر جنسها، وأكرم ما توصف
بنفاسة نفسها، ورسماً بتسليمها ممن حضر بها، وتضاعف
الشكر والثناء على ما اختار من تحبها. — وقد أعدنا رسله إليه
مشمولين بالقبول، موصولين بالكرامة لأنه من إلزام المرسل كرامة
الرسول؛ فيواصل الملك الجليل أطال الله بقاءه بكتبه التي هي أحسن
ما يُحمّل من بلاه، وتقرّبه من خواطرننا الشريفة معنا (sic) هو عليه
من بعادة، والله تعالى يهديه لرشاده، ويوفقه من حسن اعتماده. —
«إن شاء الله تعالى، كتب في مستهل جمادى الأولى سنة
ثنتين وسبعماية حسب المرسوم الشريف. —
«الحمد لله وحده الخ²».

1) Plural of سُنُقور is a Persian word, the Arabic equivalent of which is صَقْر (pl. صُقُور), i.e., hawk or falcon. Cf. Muḥammad Ḥusain (*Burhān Qāṭi*), II, 57b-58a; see also European dictionaries of the Persian language by Steingass, Zenker, Vullers and others.

2) *vide supra*, *explicit*s to other Arabic correspondence.

Translation: "... And may his favours remain acceptable, his letters carried on the crest of the breeze, and his requests favoured with the best of response! This epistle has been issued to convey to his (the King's) presence our fragrant goodwill, our manifold praise, and a commendation from whose splendour the sun might seem to rise. Let it be known¹ to him that his brief has been delivered by the hand of his noble and august envoy Afransis Morkos (Francesco Marco!) and his companions, and it has been received at our supreme court with a double welcome and met with a hospitality which will please his hearing. It has been courteously submitted by their own hands at our supreme court and has found in our sentiments (both) goodwill and joy. We have taken note of its purport as to his outspoken friendship and his unbroken loyalty; and his love is increasingly apparent in his true sincerity and is treasured in every heart that harbours no doubt as to the earnestness of his good faith. The falcons—most magnificent of their species and noblest of their precious kind—sent by him for presentation, have reached us, and we have ordained their delivery from their bearers with redoubled gratitude and our praise for the excellent birds which he has chosen. We have granted leave to his (the King's) envoys with our goodwill and with honour, for it is the duty of the one who receives to do honour to the one who is sent. Let the august King—God prolong his existence!—therefore continue his correspondence which is the best of all things emanating from his country; and may he thus continue to enjoy our goodwill in spite of his remoteness. May the Almighty lead him to righteousness and ensure the success of his endeavour, by the grace of God!

1) Strictly speaking this should be joined up with the preceding sentence, and, literally translated, it should read "and to inform him of receipt of his brief etc". As this might seem rather petty in comparison with the high-flown metaphors in the former phrases, we have ventured to break the sentence and adopt the present form.

"Written on the first day of Ġumādā I in the year seven hundred and thirty, in accordance with the noble decree. (20th February 1330.)

"Thanks be to God alone etc."

In point of style, it will be observed from the above text and our somewhat free version, this epistle exceeds its predecessors in metaphors, similes and complicated phraseology. In spite of the heavy and artificial structure of its terms, however, the essence of its purport is perfectly clear. Although it contains no indication as to the details of the outcome of the Eighth Embassy, it offers sufficient testimony to the continuance of that harmony between Egypt and Aragon which marked Jaime's reign and which the Sultan keenly fostered after the accession of Alfonso IV.

The Aragonese present of falcons was a noteworthy feature of this embassy, as it must have impressed al-Nāṣir who spared no words in his praise for the gift and the giver. Although unlike most of the members of his race in their passion for war and excellence in fighting, the Sultan had a penchant for hunting and falconry, and his fame in this respect must have reached the court of Barcelona.

Finally, it is likely that the present embassy is identical with that which is recorded under the year 730/1330 in the Mamlūk annals of our period edited by Zetterstéen¹). The chronicler speaks of the advent of envoys of 'Faransīs' by sea to 'Akka and then by land to Cairo where they arrived on 25 Rabī' II/15th February (1330). These were received by the Sultan on 15 Jumādā II/5th April and granted leave to depart nine days later. They went first on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and afterwards sailed back home from the port of 'Akka. Though no specific mention of Aragon is made in this account, it is highly probable, that this was the embassy here under consideration. Although 'Faransīs' usually

1) *Beiträge*, 182.

means the French, in distinction from the term 'Firing' or 'Ifiring' for Franks in general, the use of the former term is probably due to the name of the Aragonese envoy, while the coincidence of dates cannot be lightly overlooked. If this is true, the Sultan's epistle must have been written in the interval between the ambassadors' arrival in Cairo and their reception at court when it was handed to them according to possible usage by the Sultan in state.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

At this juncture, it might be fitting to make a few general remarks on the significance of the aforementioned Arabic correspondence and the results which could be deduced from our comparative study of both sets of Aragonese and Egyptian documents.

1. Golubovich's supposition that the embassies in question were six in number, is based on purely Aragonese material, which is, in my opinion, one-sided and incomplete. The Arabic letters reviewed in the foregoing pages show beyond doubt that the embassies were not six, but eight, extending over the period between 1300 and 1330. Golubovich's view, hitherto unchallenged, must therefore be revised in the light of our new material.

In the present tragic state of Spanish affairs, we have no other choice but to leave the task of complementing this study with the Aragonese letters to which reference was made by al-Nāṣir in his epistles of the First and Eighth Embassies to other scholars or another opportunity.

2. These diplomatic exchanges and letters offer sufficient proof as to the spirit of friendship and goodwill which prevailed between Aragon and Egypt during the first half of the fourteenth century. This is rendered all the more remarkable by the fact that that century was a golden age of propaganda for the crusade against Egypt; and we have to remember that Ramon Lull, whose views on the crusade I have analysed in another work, was an Aragonese subject and in some ways patronised and en-

couraged by Jaime II¹). Trade intercourse with the Mamlūk Empire was repeatedly and periodically condemned by papal bulls, and the blockade of the Sultan's coasts was in theory the order of the day. Any relations with the Saracen usurper of the heritage of Christ could only be undertaken by special dispensation from the *curia* as was the case in Charles IV's embassy of 1327²). There is no reason to believe that the Aragonese exchanges with Egypt were executed on the same principle as the embassy of France. On the contrary, these appear to have been arranged without referring matters to the Pope beforehand. Yet the outcome of such transactions was a striking demonstration of what could be achieved by the way of peace at the court of Cairo. Emperor Frederick II had realised this at an earlier date, and Jaime II followed a similar policy. In this particular respect, the careers of both western monarchs were unique in the annals of medieval Europe during the age of the crusades.

3. Except for the Eighth Embassy, which owed its origin to Alfonso IV, these diplomatic exchanges were confined to the reign of Jaime II. On the Egyptian side, the first three embassies belonged to al-Nāṣir's second reign, while the others took place during his third reign. As the young Sultan reached the age of maturity during his last two reigns, he proved himself to be one of the most capable rulers that Egypt had witnessed under the Mamlūks. His methods were those of peace rather than of war. Within Egypt, indeed, his policy deteriorated at times to sordid and cruel intrigue. Outside his realm, however, he favoured a temperate diplomacy and encouraged the coming of envoys from all parts with eminent results, certainly in his relations with Aragon.
4. The main objects of the Aragonese letters may be summed up in the following points:

1) See Part II of my study on *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* on 14th century propaganda; and for Ramon Lull, see pp. 74-94.

2) *vide supra*, Seventh Embassy.

- a—Friendship and good understanding with Egypt.
 - b—Trade privileges for Aragonese merchants in the Mamlūk Empire.
 - c—Better treatment of the Copts and Eastern Christians.
 - d—Facilities for western pilgrims in the Holy Land.
 - e—A share in administering divine service at the Holy Sepulchre, first for the Dominicans, then for the Franciscans of Aragon, as well as a permanent abode for them in the neighbourhood of the Basilica in Jerusalem.
 - f—Liberation of Christian prisoners in Egypt, notably those of Aragonese origin¹).
5. The Egyptian letters without exception responded favourably to the Aragonese requests in the matters of friendship and trade in which both countries had the same interests in common. As to the rest, Jaime achieved a considerable measure of success at the Mamlūk court, although it would be erroneous to say that the Sultan granted his requests promptly and in full.
 6. While Jaime played the part of supreme protector of the Eastern Christians, al-Nāṣir held himself responsible for the welfare of the Muslims under Christian rule in Spain. The Sultan's argument denotes the revival of the old pan-

1) It is interesting to note that this request was initiated by the Second and not the First Embassy, that is, in the year 1303. A possible explanation of this is the fall, in 701/1301-2, of the island of Arwād, previously occupied and fortified by the Christians. In his chronicle entitled *نزهة الملوك* (Paris B. N. MS. fonds arabe 1706, ff. 43vo-44ro), al-Ṣafadī makes the following statement in this connection:

«ثم وجه السلطان الملك الناصر كهرداش متقدّم الزرقاين وصحبته بعض المماليك السلطانية وبعض العسكر في البحر إلى جزيرة أروى التى أنشأها الفرنج بالقرب من طرابلس وبنى بها قلعة فأخذوه وأخربوها وأحضرها كمن (sic) فيها أسارى إلى مصر في شهر سنة إحدى وسبع مائة. —»

Islamic conception in the fourteenth century under the leadership of Egypt¹).

7. Apart from throwing additional light on the foreign policies of Aragon and Egypt in the fourteenth century, these documents furnish us with new materials on the history of the Copts and their Church. This was indeed a precarious period in Coptic annals, and our knowledge of it is principally based on Maqrizī's authority and whatever gleanings as might be gathered from the contemporary Arabic chronicles. Here we possess a set of official letters, sometimes confirming, sometimes confuting, and at all events supplementing Maqrizī's authority.
8. The Mamlūk correspondence adds to our stock of knowledge of Egyptian diplomatics. The Sultan's titles given under the Seventh Embassy is much fuller than most of the extant versions during al-Nāṣir's time, while the Arabic titles of the sovereigns of Aragon quoted under the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Embassies are unique. Up to the present moment, we have relied for the latter upon literary sources, notably the authority of al-Qalqaṣandī. Here we have the official texts, the value of which can hardly be minimised.
9. Finally, the list of Egyptian gifts appearing under the Third Embassy is another subject of interest to the student both of Mamlūk history and of the history of mediæval commerce in the Levant. The inventory of articles of luxury which an Eastern monarch deemed worthy of presentation to a Western sovereign ought to serve some purpose.

1) Examples of Moorish petitions to Egypt for support are quoted by Muḥammad 'Abdallāh 'Inān, 134 et seq. The pan-Islamic leadership was of course transferred to the Ottoman Sultans at a later date; but we find letters addressed by the Moors of Spain to the Turks even before the downfall of Egypt in 1517. A notable instance may be found in the Alger MS. no. 1620 which includes the copy of a long letter addressed by them to Bayezid II (1481-1512).

It is difficult to trace the relations between Aragon and Egypt beyond 1330. The absence of documentary evidence leaves us in the dark as to the course of events after that year; but there is no reason to assume that any breach occurred between the two countries until the disastrous Crusade of Pierre I de Lusignan King of Cyprus precipitated the capture and loss of Alexandria in 1365¹). The immeasurable ruin which the Christian army inflicted upon one of the most flourishing cities of the Mamlūk Empire embittered al-Nāṣir's

1) P. Kahle, *Die Katastrophe des mittelalterlichen Alexandria*, (Mémoires de l'Institut français, T. LXVIII, Mélanges Maspéro, vol. III 134-54); *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, 344-78.

While diplomatic exchanges were thus suspended between Egypt and Aragón, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, one of al-Nāṣir's successors, seems to have adopted his predecessor's way of peace and friendship with other Christian monarchs in Europe. We know, for example, of a very friendly letter which he sent to the Byzantine Emperor John VI Cantacuzenos on 15 Ša'bān 750 / 30th October 1349. Although the original Arabic text of that letter is no longer to be found in any archives and has probably perished, a complete Greek version of it has happily been preserved by the Emperor himself in his famous history. In both matter and style, it bears the marks of authenticity and shows great similarity to the documents here put forward. The Sultan accedes thereby to the Emperor's following requests:

- (a) Re-instatement of Lazarus, Melkite Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was arbitrarily deposed by the Mamlūks and a certain Gerasimos put in charge of his See.
- (b) Protection of churches and monasteries in Jerusalem and safe-conduct for pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre.
- (c) Freedom for Greek merchants to pursue their trade activities in Egypt.
- (d) Exchange of Greek and Saracen captives between the two countries.

Apart from its historical value, this letter is also of some interest to the student of Egyptian diplomatics. Its inception includes the Emperor's titles in Arabic correspondence, which are not incomparable to those furnished by al-Qalqaṣandī. For further details, the reader must consult M. Canard's article — *Une lettre du Sultan Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène* (750/1349); *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Alger; T. III (année 1937), 27-52.

successors against all Latins—Aragonese included. Then, and only then, can we assume with certainty that all relations with Aragon were suspended for the time being.

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